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"REMEMBER THEM THAT ARE IN BONDS."

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

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and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,**

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The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

ANGLO-TURKISH SLAVE TRADE CONVENTION.

OUR readers will have noticed that the Convention concluded by the late Government with Turkey, for the repression of the Slave Trade, and to which we called attention last year, has lately been declared by Her Majesty in Council at Holy-road to have become law.

For *public reasons* we refrain for a short time from making any comments upon the terms of this Treaty.

DEPUTATION TO EARL GRAN- VILLE.

On Thursday, August 18th, a deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had an interview with the Right Hon. the Earl Granville, K.G., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (with whom were Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., M.P., and Sir Julian Pauncefoot, C.B., K.C.M.G.), at the Foreign Office, with a view of once more calling the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the deplorable attitude which the Slave-trade has lately assumed in the outlying territories of Egypt, and on the Red Sea Coasts. The desirability of a speedy appointment of Consuls at Khartoum, and on the Coasts of the Red Sea, was again urged upon Lord Granville. The deputation (which was introduced by Arthur Pease, Esq., M.P.) included Rev. C. T. Wilson

and R. W. Felkin, Esq. (late of Uganda, Central Africa), F. Allen, Esq. (of Alexandria), Sir Harry Verney, Bt., M.P., Mr. Alderman and Sheriff Fowler, M.P., Colonel Gourley, M.P.; Messrs. W. Summers, M.P., C. H. Hopwood Q.C., M.P., A. McArthur, M.P., J. P. Thomasson, M.P., J. Cropper, M.P., J. F. Cheetham, M.P., F. W. Chesson, L. P. Allen, and the following members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society:—Messrs. Edmund Sturge (Hon. Sec.), J. Long, M.A., J. G. Alexander, C. M. Ingleby, LL.D., E. Harrison, Stafford Allen, C. H. Allen, F.R.G.S. (Secretary), J. Eastoe Teall.

S. Gurney, Esq., F.R.G.S. (President), Joseph Allen, Esq. (Treasurer), and several other members of Committee were prevented from being present through absence from town.

Letters expressive of approval and regret at being unable to attend, had been received from Sir J. H. Kennaway, Bt., M.P., Mr. Serjeant Simon, M.P., Messrs. R. B. Brett, M.P., F. W. Buxton, M.P., J. Bryce, M.P., G. Anderson, M.P., J. M. W. Torrens, M.P., Hugh Mason, M.P., J. Brinton M.P., A. Crum, M.P., J. Kinnear, D.D., M.P., H. Broadhurst, M.P., B. Armitage, M.P., A. Cohen, Q.C., M.P., J. Howard, M.P., the Rev. Horace Waller, F.R.G.S., and W. Allen, &c., &c.

Arthur Pease, Esq., M.P., in introducing the deputation, said:—

My lord: I have been somewhat unexpectedly invited to introduce this deputation with

regard to the Slave-trade in those countries which are nominally, more or less under the Turkish dominion. It was hoped some time ago that we might have had the opportunity of speaking to the First Lord of the Treasury upon the subject, and, therefore we did not attempt to obtain a deputation to your lordship, until we were quite sure of not having an opportunity of combining in that arrangement a deputation to Mr. Gladstone, as we know the recommendations of the Foreign Office are sometimes set aside by the stringent regulations of the Treasury; and we thought, if we could have the First Lord present, we might enlist his sympathies and obtain that assistance from the Foreign office which we could not otherwise do. We had hoped also, that the deputation would have been rather more numerous than it is, but I hold in my hand the letters of a number of gentlemen, who are not able to be present.

I cannot profess myself, to have that definite information on the subject that would justify me in detaining your lordship with this matter, but it has been taken up very thoroughly by Mr. Sturge, the Honorary Secretary of the Society, and therefore, I think I should be best consulting the interests of all present, if I ask him to give that definite information to your lordship.

EDMUND STURGE, Esq.: It is now more than a year since the Committee waited upon your lordship in reference to the extension of Consular supervision, as a check to the Slave-trade in those regions of Africa and of the Red Sea over which Egypt and Turkey claim to rule. Since that time, the Committee have been receiving from travellers and others well acquainted with those countries, accumulating evidence of its renewed activity and extension. For want of a Consular Agency, and of reports on which he could depend, we are forced to the conviction, that H.M. Consul-General at Cairo, resting on the reports of the employees of the Egyptian Government, has but an inadequate impression of the extent of the traffic, and of the ravages it inflicts upon Africa.

There are gentlemen present who have recently come from those regions, who will be able to show from their own observation and experience, the urgent necessity which exists for these appointments.

The Committee have the satisfaction of believing that if measures to this end have not yet been carried into effect, they have

been engaging the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government, with a view to their early adoption. When this is done, they feel assured that the fruits will be seen in a real diminution of the traffic.

But, my lord, above and beyond such measures, most important as they are, the Committee have long felt that it is due to the character of England, and, to her high place in the Christian civilization of the world, that her Anti-slave trade-policy should once more animate her diplomatic relations as it did more than fifty years ago. They mean such as availed itself of every favourable opportunity of assimilating the policy and the action of the other powers of Europe to its own. They cannot but view this to be a far easier task at the present time than it was at that period, when vast commercial interests in the Western world were held to be dependent on the Slave-trade. On the contrary, it is but too manifest at the present time, that the commerce of European nations is crushed in almost every effort for its development, by the Slave-traffic, in the most productive regions of Africa; thus constituting, apart from the claims of humanity, a right to insist on the suppression of a huge system of piracy and murder subversive of all legitimate trade.

It was, therefore, with the deepest regret, that the Committee beheld the most favourable opportunity neglected which had occurred for many years, (I mean the Congress of Berlin), for securing a European consensus on this question, which at the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, and at Verona, in 1822, was so energetically advocated by the British Plenipotentiaries.

It was to ask Her Majesty's Government to re-animate this policy that the Committee addressed a memorial to Mr. Gladstone in March last. In that document, after submitting a plan of registration of slaves now held in Egypt (a plan which the newspapers now tell us that Tewfik Pasha is about to decree) the committee observed:—

"Assuming that the Khedive will issue a Decree adopting these provisions, it may be justly asked, where is the guarantee that they will be effectually enforced? It is on this point that the Society have to submit to Her Majesty's Government the one executive arrangement which appears to them essential, and without which, experience has shown that all other provisions will prove of little value. They would urge that Her Majesty's

Government, in concert with that of France, obtain the establishment of a *Mixed Commission*, whose function it shall be to exercise the same kind of supervision over the Slave-trade department in Egypt, as is now done in the control of its financial officers. If Europe may supersede one of the primary rights of self-government in Egypt on behalf of her bond-holders, it is not too much to say that she has a far stronger right to interfere on behalf of the claims of humanity, and to arrest that stupendous evil, which is a chronic violation of "the law of nature and of nations."

It was, therefore, in view of France having if not a co-ordinate, yet by far the largest interest in the affairs of Egypt next to England, that the Committee availed themselves of an occasion which presented itself of learning how far a common action on this question may be looked for in France. The favourable result of the communications which then took place, with parties now influencing the Government, are given in the correspondence which I hold in my hand. Mr. Long, who conducted these enquiries on behalf of the Committee, being personally acquainted with those who have occupied prominent positions in each Government since the Franco-German war, has thus had the special advantage of pursuing them, unchecked by the barrier presented by the necessities of official reserve. He is present at this time, and I believe, will be able to furnish your lordship with substantial evidence of a readiness to co-operate on the part of the present Government of France.

Of the precise time and occasion for promoting such measures, you will necessarily be the most competent judge. But the Committee most earnestly hope that your long experience, especially in connection with France, under different administrations, will enable you to avail yourself of the first auspicious moment for effecting such an arrangement. Your lordship will hereby, under Providence, be the means of securing, at no distant date, the solution of that most formidable difficulty, which has ever presented itself in the Anti-slavery cause—the extinction of the Slave-trade and Slavery in Mohamedan nations.

The Rev. C. T. WILSON (of the Church Missionary Society): My lord: the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have asked me to tell you

something about what I have seen myself of the Slave-trade in the Soudan. At the time I was travelling through there, the news came of Colonel Gordon's resignation of the office of Governor-General. I was on my way at that time towards Khartoum, from the westerly regions of the Soudan, and I met members of the Dongalowies, who had been in the employ of the Slave-traders, and who had been expelled by Gessi Pacha, but, who, having heard of Colonel Gordon's resignation, were now returning to their old slave-hunting grounds. I also obtained independent evidence that a large number of slaves were still going through Egyptian territory. On one occasion I asked the chief of a large village which we passed, for news of a caravan which we had been travelling with on a previous part of one journey. He asked us if we wanted to know about a slave-caravan which he had seen the previous day of 240 slaves, which were on the way towards Khartoum, and, on several other occasions I obtained evidence that there were slave-caravans passing at that time through the country. On another occasion I stopped at a large village where a man resided who supplied camels to the Government, and I overheard a conversation between him and an Arab slave-driver as to whether this driver could get a number of slaves through a certain village where a major was stationed to suppress the Slave-trade, and he was told that the major was a pleasant, easy-going man, who would let him take the slaves through at two dollars a head. Then there is another point which I wish to mention, that is, the question of the registration of slaves, which it is thought by many, would be an efficient mode of checking the Slave-trade. It has been urged by objectors that there would be great difficulty in registering the slaves, but the Government finds no difficulty in registering people for the purpose of taxation, and surely there would be as little difficulty in registering slaves. Then if the Slave-trade were stopped there is no question but that the commerce of the country, I mean the legitimate commerce, would be very largely increased. In the Bahr-el Ghazal province, of which Gessi Pacha, one of Colonel Gordon's officers, was Governor, within a few months after the Slave-trade was suppressed, a task which he succeeded in accomplishing with very great difficulty, a very large quantity of produce was sent down to Khartoum, which

never had been obtained in that district before. Several thousand dollars' worth of india-rubber, and cotton, and tamarinds, and other produce which had never been sent to any market before were collected by the natives themselves, and sent down, under Gessi Pacha's orders, to Khartoum, and there fetched a very good price. The natives began to rally round him as soon as they saw that the Slave-trade had been suppressed; and those who had been driven out by fear of the Slave-traders, began to return to their homes.

Then, my lord, another question which I have been asked to mention, is the question of having European Governors under the native Governors, or rather under the Governor-General of the Soudan, whether native or European. At present the Arab and Turkish officers are so very corrupt, that no material assistance can be looked for from them, in the majority of cases at any rate, and the only way of having the orders of the Governor-General properly carried out, is to have, for a time at least, resident Europeans in the most responsible positions, whom he could rely on, and who he will feel certain will carry out his orders, because, however efficient and able a Governor-General may be, he cannot know much, and cannot do much from his head-quarters at Khartoum, unless he is seconded by his inferior officers, and Colonel Gordon in many cases was not only not seconded by his officers, but they did all they could to thwart his purposes and to encourage the Slave-trade.

R. W. FELKIN, Esq.: My lord: I also have been travelling in the Soudan and the equatorial provinces of Egypt for nearly two years, in the places which have been mentioned by Mr. Wilson, and I can corroborate his statements. I have no doubt, that the Slave-trade has been suppressed in the equatorial provinces by the efforts of Gordon Pasha, the late Governor-General of the Soudan. These same provinces are now under the excellent rule of Dr. Emin Bey, and there is no doubt, that here at least, slavery has not been re-established. Of this I had good evidence when I entered the Egyptian territory, for, although the Waganda chiefs never travel without numbers of wives and many slaves, yet on this occasion they would not take them, saying that it was not worth while to run the great risk of losing them on the way, because they would not be allowed to sell them on arriving at Mrooli, as they had been in the habit of doing in former years.

It is well to mention that many people think that the war against the Slave-dealers in the Bahr-el-Ghazel province cost the Egyptian Government a large sum. I can assure your lordship that this was not the case. When with Gessi Pacha at Dem Suleiman, the late head-quarters of the rebels, he told me that the actual cost of the war had been 4,000 dollars, while on the other hand, the amount of money captured there was 40,000 dollars in addition to ivory of the estimated value of £100,000 sterling. After the war, the only difficulty Gessi Pacha had in preventing the Slave-trade, arose from the fact that he could not secure his western frontier, the whole of the district being under independent kings, and it was principally from Bornu that the slave-caravans came during the time that I was in those parts, that is, 1879 and 1880.

It was said that after the war Egypt should have evacuated these provinces; but surely it is the duty of a country after annexing territory, and in so doing, draining its resources, to rule it well, and not leave it to confusion and anarchy.

There is another point which I have been asked to bring before your lordship's notice, namely, the climate of Khartoum. It has been said that Europeans cannot live there; and indeed it is perfectly true that they cannot well remain there for the whole of the year, but still, for six months the climate is good, and would not try Europeans more than ordinary residence in tropical countries. And, by a judicious change of residence, a European may escape the rains, and always live in a good climate. He might do this by changing his residence from Khartoum to Obeid, and thence to Gabel Marrah, in the Darfour province. By ascending these mountains, one can get perpetual snow, and health can be re-established after the enervating influence of the plains.

JAMES LONG, Esq.: With your lordship's permission, I would fondly add a word or two in support of the statements advanced by the Hon. Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. In the month of May last, and in the name of that Society, I had the honour of having several interviews with His Excellency Barthelemy St. Hilaire, Minister of Foreign Affairs in France. On those occasions His Excellency expressed to me in a most frank and friendly manner, his entire sympathy with the views of the British and Foreign Anti-

Slavery Society, as regards the abolition of Slavery and the suppression of the Slave-trade in Egypt and her dependencies. He farther assured me of his willingness to take prompt action in the matter in accord with, or conjointly with, the Government of England. These assurances, I may be permitted to tell your lordship, were given me, not so much perhaps in his Excellency's official capacity as in that of a personal friend, whose intimate acquaintance I have had the honour of enjoying for many years. I therefore felt fully impressed with his sincere desire to enter heartily into such measures as, conjointly with the Government of this country, might be deemed advisable for the effecting of the object in view. Moreover, I am aware that immediate instructions were given by His Excellency to have drawn up, for his guidance on the subject, an exhaustive report compiled from the despatches of the French Consuls and Consular Agents on the Red Sea, and at Khartoum, in order that he might thus be qualified to form an accurate opinion of the actual state of the Slave-traffic in those regions. His Excellency finally added that considering the influence that England and France could now exercise in Egypt, and the excellent terms on which he was with the Governments of both countries, he thought the moment most propitious for taking action in the matter.

I sincerely hope your lordship is of the same opinion.

And seeing now that the Khedive is evidently contemplating some measure for the abolition of Slavery in his dominions, and knowing that such measures will meet with powerful opposition from his own subjects, I trust your lordship will admit that the present time is peculiarly favourable for conjoint action on the part of the Governments of France and England with the view of sustaining His Highness in the great work that it is reported he intends to initiate.

With regard to the statements that I have the honour of making to your lordship I should perhaps mention that His Excellency Barthelemy St. Hilaire has, since the period of my visit, written to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, fully corroborating the views I have here expressed. The Geographical Society of France, with which also I have had relations on the subject, has likewise written expressing its entire sympathy with the British and Foreign Anti-

Slavery Society in its aims, and stating that in the name of civilization and commerce, as well as of science, it has addressed a strong appeal to his Excellency Barthelemy St. Hilaire, since owing to the impunity and even encouragement enjoyed of late by the Slave-hunters and their accomplices at the hands of Egyptian officials, the lives of explorers have become increasingly endangered.

The Honorary Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has alluded to the serious obstruction that the Slave-trade has always been to the development of legitimate commerce; and gentlemen now present have explained to your lordship how, under their personal observation, so soon as the Slave-traffic had been checked and some security obtained for the natives through the efforts of Colonel Gordon, the products of the interior began at once to find their way to the seaboard.

I have already had occasion, my lord, in former years, to invite the attention of one of your lordship's predecessors in office to this question in connection with the East Coast of Africa, the Red Sea and Abyssinia, at the period when, under various pretexts, the former Khedive of Egypt placed every obstacle in the way of British commerce more particularly, and when Massowah was reclaimed by Abyssinia as hers of old, and as the national outlet for her rich and various products.

At that period the pretext was the existence of plague in the province of Bagdad and at various places successively in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. I say at various places successively, since so soon as medical Commissions specially sent reported favourably on the sanatory condition of localities reputed plague-stricken, it was immediately announced that the pestilence prevailed elsewhere in those regions, and that, therefore, vessels trading with Bussorah and the Persian Gulf must undergo a quarantine of 21 days at every port of call in the Red Sea, notwithstanding the circumstance of such vessels having visited *en route* Kurrachee and Aden, and having a clean bill of health from each port. In the putting in practice of this pretext for such a vexatious system of quarantine, the officials of the Porte were principally instrumental, and against a certain British steam navigation company in particular, was the measure specially directed, since the said company has always sternly set

its face against aiding or abetting the slave-traffic, and had indirectly and in various ways taken means for its suppression, having even had it intimated on its steamers, that any slave aboard desiring freedom has only to claim protection of the captain, who will deliver him over to the charge of the first French or English Consulate the ship may reach. The said company has made more serious efforts than any other to develop the commerce of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf; but owing to its determined resistance to the undertaking of any transport dishonouring to the British flag, as, for instance, the transport of troops and ammunition during the late Russo-Turkish War, I know it to be a fact that Turkish officials invariably favour certain foreign companies that have shown themselves less scrupulous in these matters.

I speak, my lord, from three years' recent experience of friendly relations with high officials of the Porte, during which interval I have had an opportunity of testing the accuracy of what I state by tendering in the name of the British company already alluded to, and by its authority, for an important contract, though told in advance that, no matter how much lower my tender, the contract would be ceded to a certain foreign company that is more complacent to Turkish institutions. And so it proved, my lord, though the terms proposed by me were one-third less, and gave a better guarantee for efficient execution of the contract.

In like manner, my lord, in the Red Sea, and more especially on its Western shore, is the development of British commerce invariably discouraged. The advancement of legitimate trade and free labour under the British flag, thus leading to its being often displayed in the ports on that coast is, perhaps, more feared by Egyptian officials, accomplices in the Slave-trade, than the rarer visits of British cruisers; and hence, another reason for Egypt persistently refusing to Abyssinia her absolute right of access to the seaboard, since, by the abundant products that would then be brought down from the interior, British traders would undoubtedly, regardless of ordinary obstructions, be attracted more frequently to her shores, and intrude upon the privacy essential to the success of her nefarious traffic.*

* In corroboration of the above statements, we have just learnt that recently a British Steam Navigation Company, having purchased ground at Suakin, and erected thereon a residence for its agent, as well as constructed a sea wall and jetty, with the view of

But I will not trespass on your lordship's time by entering at present more into detail, but shall gladly hold myself ready to give any further information at my disposal on the subject, should your lordship so desire.

Mr. Alderman FOWLER, M.P.: My Lord: I have nothing to say, except to express my hope that your lordship's exertions in this matter may result in what I am sure nobody is more anxious to secure than your lordship: the putting an end to the Slave-trade in these countries.

ARTHUR PEASE, Esq., M.P.: I thought Mr. Sturge would have alluded a little more definitely to the fact that the feeling of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is, that it has lost ground in Upper Egypt. I believe when Colonel Gordon was in Egypt he was thoroughly in earnest, and also Gessi Pacha, as an abolitionist; but the Society have no confidence in Raouf Pacha, the present Governor. The information has come to the Society, through Missionaries and the Consuls of other European nations living in that district. Those nations are exercising an influence which the English nation is not, and, therefore, the Society felt it very important that the English nation should be represented in that district, not so much by a Consul, who would be settled at one point, but by one who would range through the district, and keep the Foreign Office fully informed as to what are the real facts of the case with regard to the interior, and also as Mr. Long has last said, to further the commerce of the Red Sea.

Then, the only other point I wish to allude to is this: We believe the Khedive of Egypt is really in earnest in his desire to put down the Slave-trade, as he is bound to do under the Convention we came to in 1877. We feel, unless some measures are taken for registering the slaves at the present time in Egypt, they will be substituted by fresh slaves obtained from some other source, and therefore, the object of the registration proposed is that the slavery of Egypt should rest simply in its present condition, and that there should not be any chance of their introducing other slaves in their places. The primary objects which the Society have in view, and wish to press upon your lordship, are the appoint-

making the place a port of trade, has had the mortification of seeing the whole destroyed at the instigation of the Egyptian official commanding on that part of the coast,—all redress for which has hitherto been peremptorily refused.

ment of a Consul in the interior of Upper Egypt, and also of others on the coasts of the Red Sea, and also with reference to the registration of slaves in Lower Egypt. We know the Khedive is surrounded by powerful influences, which tend to keep up the present system, but with the cordial assistance we think we would obtain from France, we feel that this would be a proper time for strengthening his hands by the action of the English Government. Perhaps I should have said in introducing Mr. Long, that he was engaged for some years in Turkey during and since the Russo-Turkish war, in the administration of relief to the distressed inhabitants, and has thus had an opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with the proceedings in Turkey and the countries dependent upon it.

MR. C. H. ALLEN: Your lordship is aware that a report has been circulated, that the Khedive of Egypt wishes to enforce a decree for the abolition of slavery. Permit me to read an extract from a statement by a gentleman who holds a high position. This is his opinion: "I heard from Egypt that Tewfik Pasha is trying to organize training schools. This sounds like good intentions. My belief is, that if he were strongly pressed and supported he would take the plunge. But the decree would only be the first step. All the real work would come after and then is the time for England's aid. All the offenders of the Slave-trade Decrees and Conventions *should be put under the Mixed Tribunals.*" That is a point that this Society has continually urged, viz: that they should not be under Egyptian Courts.

SIR HARRY VERNEY: I have a strong conviction, my lord, that the best way of putting down slavery is to make it worth while for the rulers of the country to employ the inhabitants of a country better than by making them slaves. I believe if we can make it to the interests of the Khedive of Egypt, and those of his officials in the upper part of Egypt to employ the inhabitants in manufacturing and commercial business of different sorts, that will be really more efficacious in putting an end to the Slave-trade than even our squandering money, and the efforts made by our military men. If your lordship could see your way to promoting the commercial and moral interests of Africa, I feel confident that that is the way to put down the Slave-trade, and, my

own conviction is, that for the interest of our own country, there is nothing so important as that Africa should be civilized. I believe that as regards our own British manufactures and commerce, as soon as the inhabitants of Africa feel the want of those things which we produce, it is more likely to lead to the welfare of our own country than any other measure. Reference has been made by several of the speakers to the labours of Colonel Gordon. I must confess, that I think it is a most lamentable thing that the man who, of all others (I believe I may say of all others in the world) is most capable of exercising influence upon the natives, is at this moment commanding a company of Engineers in the Mauritius. It does seem to me, that when a man who has the very peculiar talent of Colonel Gordon, is at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government, it is a great pity that he should not in some way be employed. I recollect, shortly after his return, he said to me, "All my efforts are at an end. I am sorry to say I have not been supported by Her Majesty's Government." I am speaking of three or four years ago. "All of those whom I endeavoured to get into high office in Egypt are put aside, all my efforts are at an end; I can do nothing more." It is of course not for me to suggest anything to your lordship, but it does appear to me, that when such a man as Colonel Gordon is available, it is a very great pity if he could be persuaded to take service in some such mode, or in some such position as that which he has so successfully occupied, not only in Africa, but also as we all know in China, that his services should not be so employed.

EARL GRANVILLE: Gentlemen, I very much agree with what has fallen from my old friend who has just spoken, and who is one of the few of my colleagues in the House of Commons that I now remember. I think there is no doubt whatever that the progress of trade, and the advantages desired by the rulers of the country, is of the greatest importance, but it is a question which cuts both ways, because the Slave-trade interferes with that progress, and unless you can help to put that trade down as well as to encourage legitimate trade, I am afraid that our efforts must fail. I have listened with very great attention to what has fallen from the different gentlemen who have spoken to-day. There are some topics of very great interest all bearing directly or

indirectly on the Slave-trade which have been brought forward, but it strikes me the principal points which have been submitted to me are these: First of all, the impression of the Society that they are losing ground in Africa, in Egypt, and that the Slave-trade is increasing in Upper Egypt; secondly, the desirability of European concert, also the great importance of carrying into effect the suppression of Slavery itself in Egypt, and also the desirability of the extension of our consular superintendence.

Now, I hope that in a very few days we shall present a blue book giving the official information which we possess as to the state of the trade up to the end of 1880, and I am bound to say that those official reports do not confirm your apprehensions of the increase of the Slave-trade. At the same time, of course it is fair to argue, and I am not prepared to deny, that the want of official information may be partly owing to the want of Consular superintendence which undoubtedly now exists.

With regard to the concert with other powers I cannot say how important I think it is, not only to get the sympathy but the active co-operation of all the civilized nations to put down this barbarous state of things, and I should be particularly glad to do it with our neighbour France. No actual proposals have yet been made to us, but certain enquiries have been made, and certain *pour parlers* have been going on. If we can get anything that is *bond-fide* and thoroughly satisfactory, you may depend upon Her Majesty's Government not being slow in the work. But at the same time it is a matter which requires a good deal of delay and consideration in dealing with it, because there are a great many difficult and delicate considerations to be taken into account, with which I will not trouble you at this moment.

With regard to putting an end to the Slave-trade in Egypt, I am not prepared to give you any actual information on the matter, but I can fully confirm what has been stated, namely, the good disposition of the Khedive, both with regard to the Slave-trade, and I believe I might also say, with regard to the existence of Slavery in his dominions.

I think the papers when presented will show that; I think there is an instance of that the other day when he appointed M. Le Comte Della Sala to the important post that he occupies. Having been a great deal

in communication with Consul Malet, who has just left this country to return to his post, I believe you are right in saying that the Khedive is perfectly honest in his desire, and that he is perfectly aware of the advantages that will ensue from some change in this matter.

With regard to consular superintendence, I have only to say that we have transmitted to that formidable office, the Treasury, to which allusion was made, a proposal that we should extend our Consular superintendence. What we have proposed is this, that there should be Consuls appointed at Suakin and Khartoum, and that they should have power, at the Government expense, of travelling about Egypt and on the Coast of the Red Sea, and the Consul's jurisdiction there would extend from the Suakin Consulate to a place called Tajurrah, which is a little south of the Cape Guardafui.

There is a Vice-Consul now at Tajurrah,* and he has powers which extend to a place called Ras-Hafoon which is towards the south of Cape Guardafui.

I believe that this Society has always been of opinion that this would be an important move, and I do not apprehend being very much snubbed by the Treasury on this occasion. (Hear hear.)

MR. PEASE: I have now to thank your lordship on behalf of myself and the deputation for the kind way in which you have received us. We are quite sure that we have your sympathies in connection with the work in which we are interested, and we are very much pleased to hear that steps have been already taken by the Foreign Office to fulfil the object which we have in view.

[The Deputation then withdrew.]

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The subject matter of the Deputation was reviewed in a favourable tone by most of the principal organs of the press. But our space forbids us making more than the following extract. The *Christian World*, of August 25th, in a long and exhaustive article, thus speaks of

* Major Hunter, Assistant Political Agent at Aden, is the Vice-Consul here spoken of. His duties are, to visit the ports of Zeilah, Tajurrah, and Somali Coast every six months. We do not see that such visits can enable him to exercise much control over the Slave-trade.

COLONEL GORDON AND HIS WORK IN
THE SOUDAN.

* * * * * The progress made in the work has been slow and toilsome, but it has been real. And now a further advance is to be made—an advance, as we understand it, upon the lines suggested by the man whose name will ever be associated with the enterprise, that most simple, straightforward, pure-minded, and God-trusting of adventurers, “Chinese” Gordon, whose characteristic exploits in the region which has been so long cursed by the plague it is sought to abate were marked by a directness and resource, an impulsive alertness along with a scientific precision, such as have rarely been equalled. There is a Scottish ballad which describes how “the dead DOUGLAS won the field”: it is altogether welcome and befitting that the absent GORDON should conquer in this strife.

The Soudan—i.e., the country of the Blacks—is a large province of Upper Egypt, half the size of Europe, bordering Abyssinia for a great extent of its frontier, and separated from Egypt Proper by an intervening tract of desert. Long the home of a high-spirited and independent race, their subjugation has been accomplished during the present century. Strong in the possession of more effective weapons than the native warriors were armed with, the Egyptians have pushed southwards, advancing not only along the line of the Nile, but also by a route further eastward, so acquiring territory washed by the lower part of the Red Sea and by the Gulf of Aden, whence access to the Soudan is attainable. The whole country has come under Egyptian sway. Too remote and difficult of approach to be governed well, even according to Egyptian ideas of what good government is, it is not so far off or inaccessible as to escape becoming the prey of the spoiler. The Pashas and their subordinates, to whom the task of administration was assigned, have dealt with it after the fashion of their kind. Besides practising with ruthless severity the methods of pillage and oppression usually put in force throughout outlying provinces, they have enriched themselves by winking at, when they did not go shares in, the operations of predatory bands of Arabs, often commissioned, sometimes led, by Europeans, who have turned the place into a human

hunting-ground, conducting armed forays on an extensive scale, the object of which was to kidnap men, women, and children, who were forthwith marched off to slavery. The consensus of opinion is complete among all the trustworthy witnesses who have penetrated to the region as to the magnitude belonging to this system of brigandage. Speke and Schweinfurth, as well as Sir Samuel Baker and Colonel Gordon, write of it in similar terms. The latter, who knows most about it, ejaculates in his bluff and outspoken way. “When one thinks of the enormous number of slaves which have passed from these parts in the last few years, one can scarcely conceive what has become of them. There must have been thousands and thousands of them. Again, where do they all come from? For the lands of the natives are not densely peopled. . . . We must have caught two thousand in less than nine months; and I expect we did not catch one fifth of the caravans. Again, how many died *en route*?” Apropos of this last inquiry he notes in another place—“One of the Shaka men who is riding with me, tells me hundreds and hundreds die on the road, and when they are too weak to go the pedlars shoot them. I believe this man to be quite truthful.” By incredible exertions, required not less by the physical difficulties that had to be encountered than by the universality of the evil, by the fewness, the mistrust, or the treachery of those with whom he had to work, and by the supineness, the reluctance, and the contradictory instructions of those whose authority he wielded, Gordon did much to stint the volume of this cruel and iniquitous traffic. Since he left, it has resumed its flow with much of the old and unimpeded fulness. Lord Granville did, indeed, assure the deputation who waited upon him that the official returns in his possession, which are soon to be printed, negative the idea of any prodigious increase in its amount; but at the same time he was candid enough to admit the possible incompleteness of his information. The point is a secondary one; anyhow, there has come an increase where there ought to have been an extinction; and the matter of supreme moment now is what should be done to reverse the process, and to ensure, gradually but effectually, the desired result.

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EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

In the *Reporter* of last December we published a letter, addressed to us by Colonel Gordon, which showed by figures attached to his ILLUSTRATED BUDGET OF THE SOUDAN, that those provinces so far from being a source of revenue to Egypt, were a constant drain upon her resources. His letter concluded with these words:—

“Where do the funds for these increased expenses in the Soudan come from? And should not the slave-providing districts be evacuated?”

The answer to this pertinent query may be found in the excellent article on ENGLAND AND EGYPT, published in *The Times*, August 22nd last, the whole of which is well worth study by all those interested in the welfare of these countries.

The following extracts state in explicit terms, that the Soudan appears on the supplementary estimates as an expense to Egypt of £100,000. We should think this ought to be a sufficient answer to those officials and others who attacked Colonel Gordon's Budget, and endeavoured to disprove the truth of his statements:—

“No picture of contemporary Egypt would be complete without mention of the equatorial provinces. A glance at the map shows the Egyptian rule to extend from 31 deg. N. lat. to 2 deg. N. lat., and from 24 deg. E. long. to 47 deg. E. long. While Egypt proper is about the size of Belgium, the Egyptian dominions are almost the size of Russia in Europe. But the whole of the revenue by which the country is maintained and the public debt paid is obtained from Egypt proper. The rest of the vast empire is financially a burden to the country. Only recently in certain supplementary estimates the Soudan appeared as a drain on Cairo to the extent of £100,000. These provinces are not, therefore, of any benefit to Egypt. Equally unsatisfactory must be the answer to the other question, whether Egypt is of any benefit to the provinces. In the days of

previous rulers they were used as nurseries for soldiers and slaves. A grand effort was made to improve upon this state of things, and Colonel Gordon spent some of the best years of his life in a noble endeavour to suppress the slave traffic and to open out the interior. After him came another ruler, of whom we receive contradictory accounts. But it is certain that slavers, with gangs of slaves, find their way to the coast. When we turn from the Soudan to the sea-board provinces of the Red Sea, we do not find a much more promising picture. An almost endless war with Abyssinia has come out of the exclusion of that country from contact with the outer world. Further south we still find the Egyptian flag, but, as the fate of recent travellers under Egyptian protection has sadly shown, the rule is but nominally a day's march from the sea. To the north of the Red Sea we have Suakim and one or two other small ports which alone can be called tolerably prosperous as centres for trade. But on the whole this vast southern empire is only a burden. It profits neither Egypt nor the natives. If the slave-trade were suppressed by the abolition of slavery—the only true means of suppression—there would be some hope for the commercial development of these countries. The present Khedive is said to be really desirous of abolition. But he needs not only encouragement from the two protecting Powers, but assistance. The decree would meet with a steady, though passive resistance. It would have to be carried out with foreign aid, and the two countries would have to go to some expense. But France and England will never find such another opportunity of proving that they are in Egypt for the good of the country as well as the interests of the bond-holders.

* * * *

“The present Khedive holds the throne in virtue of a firman of August, 1879, by which the Porte reaffirmed its suzerainty in Egypt, and curtailed the quasi-independence purchased by the last Khedive. France is now not only in equal partnership with England in Egypt, but is rapidly increasing her influence by the excellent work of the French administrators she has sent into the country. The two Controllers have powers of investigation into every branch of Egyptian administration, and are responsible to Europe for a decent system of government. The

Khedive and the more enlightened Egyptians are content to accept European guidance, but only as a means to the true end of Egyptian independence. England, for the present, has lost any exclusive right of interference in Egypt, if ever she had such a right. Egypt has been saved from bankruptcy, and her people are no longer oppressed, but they are not being educated as a people as yet so as to rise from their ignorance and barbarism. The equatorial possessions of Egypt are only a drain on her resources. Egypt cannot effectually abolish the slave trade without the aid of England."

CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO BRAZIL.

We give portions of a second article published by the *Rio News* on August 15th, respecting the evil results that must follow the introduction of Chinese Coolies with the Slave-holding country of Brazil. The arguments are quite unanswerable, the wretched Coolies would certainly become Slaves, and the country would become further deteriorated by an addition to its slave population.

"In a country where slavery exists, and here all social and industrial life is impregnated through and through with the pernicious influences of that institution, the introduction of a semi-servile race can not be otherwise than dangerous. Slavery is an institution which not only works great injustice to the enslaved, but it also degrades and debases the enslaver. No people who have been trained to the employment of slave-labour have ever been able to easily take up the system of free labour, and to employ it with justice to the labourer and profit to themselves. The nearest approximation to such a transformation was in the southern section of the United States, but the result there was obtained under economic and political conditions which undoubtedly exist in no other part of the world. It is through these pernicious influences of slavery that the free and slave labourer have never been able to work side by side. The free man has a natural antipathy to companionship with the slave, and the master does not know how to draw just distinctions between them. For this reason, primarily, the introduction of Chinese labourers at this time under any system of contracts, should not be permitted.

"In view of these facts regarding the treatment and condition of European colonists—excepting, perhaps, the southern provinces where the Germans have established themselves on their own lands—are we not justified in concluding that the condition of the Chinese will be that of slavery under another name. Trained in a school of semi-servitude at home, these people will not readily assert their liberties and rights abroad. They, themselves, do not know what free labour means, and we doubt whether the average Brazilian planter is competent to teach them. The school of slavery never yet trained men for free labour, and we see no indications that the immediate future of Brazil is going to afford an exception to the rule."

* * * * *

"We do not claim that there is no free labour in Brazil, nor that free labourers are enslaved. It is undeniable, however, that free labour is very largely confined to industrial establishments, to the colonies where slavery does not exist, and to a few exceptional localities where immigrants have settled, and have entered into plantation service. All these, however, form but a small percentage of the labour actually employed, and an insignificant percentage of the labour available. If the *Cruzeiro* still questions our assertion that Brazil now has labourers enough for present needs—we did not say for the tillage of the whole empire!—let it be considered that the present slave population of 1,400,000 will remain as a labouring element, that there are not less than 600,000 free blacks and *ingenuos*, and that there is a considerable population of able-bodied immigrants located in various parts of the empire—all of whom are now but partially and inefficiently employed. Under a better system of labour and treatment, this force of labourers could easily increase the present annual product by one-half. Then add to these the million and more of idlers and vagrants, who are to be found everywhere, and who do not perform a week's work during the whole year, and we have a sufficient labour force to meet all present requirements. It is sufficient not only to keep up the present production, but is amply sufficient to augment that production two and three-fold. Instead of bringing in a new labouring element to take their places, these labourers should all be employed. An idler is an economic burden and expense, and it should be the aim of

every government to transform him into a producer. Instead of this, the *Cruzeiro* proposes to increase the great standing army of idlers now in Brazil by a million and more, and then shut them out from honest employment by filling their places with Chinese! Our question "What is to be done with them?" still remains unanswered.

* * * * *

After an interesting comparison of the different modes of cultivation adopted by the United States and Brazil, the article continues:—"On this point one of the best authorities in Brazil, Dr. Nicoláu Joaquim Moreira, distinctly said in a lecture at the national museum in 1879:

"A great cultivation requires large amounts of capital, and our agriculturists are seeking for it; a great cultivation employs perfected machines, while in our country, excepting here and there an agriculturist who employs them, the majority reject them, proclaiming as elements of production the hoe, the scythe, the ax, the destruction of forests, the *cowara*, and the slave labourer; a great cultivation restricts the number of workmen, while our agriculturists find insufficient those which they possess, whether for fault of labour organization, or not, we do not know; a great cultivation takes the crude soil, incorporates labour and capital in it, and this unprofitable ground, which no one values, increases in price and becomes very fruitful, constituting a real rural property upon which is based or upheld the credit of the agriculturist; in Brazil, the most fertile lands of inestimable value are going on deteriorating day by day until the time comes at which the planter abandons them under the epithet of *cansados* [exhausted, or worn out], and, penetrating further into the interior each time, the agriculturist withdraws himself from those means of communication so scarce in our country, and from the markets which should give exit to his products." . . .

"What we have in Brazil, therefore, is the *grande propriedade* and not the *grande lavoura* established on the solid principles of rural economy. . . .

"With so high an authority as Dr. Moreira, and with the visible testimony of the patchwork cultivation which every observer, who travels through the country, must note, the inevitable conclusion must be that in reality Brazil has nothing but great landed estates

to preserve, instead of a system of large farming. If the great proprietors have been unable to utilize their large estates with slave labour, and have even wasted the limited tracts on which attempts at cultivation have been made, what claims can they now have upon the country for protection in continuing this abuse of their opportunities?

"They have thrown away their opportunities, and have failed to make use of their advantages; the wise policy now is to place the agricultural industries of the country in other and better hands.

"From the few reasons which we have here given, the *Cruzeiro* will see that there are high grounds for opposition to the introduction of Chinese labour. We have shown that the existing agricultural industries of the country need no additional force of labourers, that the past education of the slave holding planters and the home training of the semi-servile Chinese will lead to a continuation of slavery should the latter be introduced under contract, that the present system of great estates is detrimental and should not be continued through the introduction of Chinese, that to small farming is due the agricultural prosperity of the United States, from which it may be inferred that it would result beneficially here, that unjust laws have kept back the stream of European emigration to Brazil through which this system of farming could best be established, and that the immediate policy of the country should be the employment of its present labouring element rather than its substitution, and consequent exclusion, by the introduction of Chinese under contract. Were we to discuss this question still further we should undertake to prove that the needs of agriculture do not lie in the acquisition of cheap, servile labourers, but rather in the acquisition of a higher grade of agriculturists, of better methods of cultivation, of the use of machinery, of raising the standard of intelligence among the labourers, of the breaking up of the great estates, of the abolition of export taxes and the reduction of transportation charges, and of a general and radical change in the legislation of the country through which small farming is discouraged and European emigration is driven away. The question is a broader and deeper one than this demand for labour would signify: it involves changes in the whole industrial fiscal legislation of the country."

KIDNAPPING IN THE SOUTH SEAS.

We are glad to see that our good friend, M. VICTOR SCHÆLCHER, the veteran French Abolitionist, has again been doing yeoman's service in the cause of freedom.

From time to time, cases of kidnapping have been brought to light in the Islands of the Pacific, and we fear that many of these have occurred under the British flag. A flagrant case having lately taken place under the flag of France, M. Schœlcher has interpellated the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and we are pleased to notice the firm determination of the French Government to put down all such piratical outrages.

On this subject the *Daily News* thus writes:—

"Some time ago we called attention to information received from New Caledonia to the effect that a French vessel, known as the *Aurora*, had been engaged in kidnapping natives in the New Hebrides and other Polynesian Islands. We also gave some account of the inquiry into these circumstances which had taken place at Noumea, the chief town of New Caledonia. We now learn that M. VICTOR SCHÆLCHER, at the request of the Aborigines Protection Society, communicated with M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, on this subject. M. St. Hilaire, in his reply, states that it is true that the crew of a French Schooner named the *Aurora* resorted to some violent and arbitrary acts in the course of their last immigration cruise, but that Admiral Courbet, Governor of New Caledonia, as soon as he was aware of what had occurred, took the most energetic steps to establish the responsibility of each individual. After referring to the official inquiry which was promptly instituted, M. St. Hilaire says: 'The measures taken in the sequel proved that Admiral Courbet paid the most possible attention to the information furnished by the Commission, since on the one hand the affair was immediately laid before the tribunals of Noumea, and on the other, the necessary orders were given without delay that Captain Madezo should be arrested directly he arrived in France and

brought back to New Caledonia to be tried and sentenced.' The French Minister states that the owner of the *Aurora* desired to renounce the authorization which he had previously obtained to sail henceforth under the French flag, adding that 'the realization of this project not having encountered any obstacle, there is no reason to fear that the future operations of this vessel can in any way involve responsibility on the part of our national flag.' Our readers will see in M. St. Hilaire's explanation ample evidence of the intention of the French Government to repress acts of kidnapping or other outrages which may be committed under the French flag in the Pacific."

LADIES' NEGRO'S FRIEND SOCIETY.

At the Annual Meeting of the Ladies' Negro's Friend Society, held at Mrs. Sturge's, Edgbaston, the Rev. J. J. Brown presided, and there was a good attendance, including Mrs. E. Sturge (President of the Society), Mrs. Southall, Mrs. Middlemore, Mrs. H. J. Sturge, Mrs. Gausby, Mrs. J. J. Brown, Mrs. Watson, Miss Phipson, ladies from Leamington and Devonshire, the Rev. T. G. Griffiths (Missionary from Jamaica). Messrs. S. Knell and J. Rutherford.

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the Report, said that they must all have been struck with the wide region which it traversed, and how much good might be accomplished at comparatively small cost. He spoke of the importance of extending their sympathy to those who were engaged in the missionary work.

The Rev. T. G. Griffiths, in seconding the motion, said he would speak upon the subject of Jamaica. He complained that the condition of the country had been misrepresented by several writers, who had visited it, and that the worst characteristics of the people had been noticed rather than their redeeming features. His opinion was that residence amongst the people was necessary to thoroughly understand the people and their wants. He thought Jamaica had advanced, and was advancing. It would, however, take perhaps three generations to thoroughly root out all the evil effects of slavery. Education had done much for them, and he hoped the time would be hastened when compulsory attendance at school should be granted to them. If they asked whether the missionaries had met with success, and whether the people were really improving, he said the answer must be emphatically that

they were. He might instance in proof some papers written by a magistrate named Mr. Sharp, who was formerly a planter, and he said that, taking all circumstances into consideration, the people of Jamaica since their freedom had advanced in a far greater ratio than even the people of the United States. Sir A. Musgrave also showed that the people in common things, and in their domestic relations, had rapidly advanced. Forty years ago there was not a black man who was a proprietor. Now there were thousands and tens of thousands of them holding land. As to their schools, he said that the burden which fell upon School Boards in England was often thrown upon the minister in Jamaica. The Government spent £20,000 on education; but he contended that the Government did not bear its fair share of the expenses.

The resolution was then carried. The officers of the society were reappointed, Mrs. E. Sturge continuing as President; and the meeting then concluded.

We congratulate our lady friends on the excellent work they are doing. The fifty-sixth report of their society contains much interesting matter, and shows what may be done by quiet, unobtrusive labour in a righteous cause.

The subscriptions for 1880 amounted to £162 16s.; but we regret to notice that they fell short by £20 of the sums collected in 1878 and 1879. We fear that there is too much apathy in England on the once burning question of slavery. If people only realized in a very slight measure the extent of the atrocities still enacted they would be more ready to aid with their purses such societies as the Ladies' Negro's Friends Society and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in London.

SIR JOHN KIRK, K.C.M.G.

IN our last number we inquired how it was that no title had ever been bestowed upon H.M.'s Consular General in Zanzibar, Dr. Kirk, whose labours on behalf of the suffering slaves, have been continued with untiring assiduity for a period of over 20 years. We have now great pleasure to record that

Her Majesty has been pleased to nominate Dr. Kirk as a Knight Commander of the second class of the most distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George.

From the *Daily News* we quote the following sketch of Dr. Kirk's career:—

Mr. John Kirk, M.D., C.M.G., Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, was born at Arbirlot, Forfarshire, in 1833, and educated for the medical profession, receiving his degree of M.D. in 1855 from the University of Edinburgh. Evincing a great attachment to botany and natural history, he early distinguished himself in those studies, and after serving on the Civil Medical Staff as Assistant Physician to the British Hospital at Renkioi, Dardanelles, during the Crimean war, was subsequently Naturalist and Medical Officer, second in command of the late Dr. Livingstone's second exploring expedition to the Zambesi River in 1858. He was so engaged for six years, when his health gave way and he came home to England for a time, but subsequently returned to Africa in the consular service as Acting Surgeon to the Political Agency at Zanzibar. He was soon afterwards promoted to be Vice-Consul there, and afterwards Assistant Political Agent, and ultimately Political Agent. He accompanied the Sultan of Zanzibar in that capacity to England in June, 1875. Dr. Kirk is well known in this country as the friend and confidant of Dr. Livingstone, and as having been instrumental in inducing the Sultan of Zanzibar to enter into a treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade in his dominions, thus almost completely suppressing the slave-trade in the greater part of Eastern Africa. He has also, by his own exertions and the material aid he has afforded to other explorers, materially aided the progress of geographical discovery in that portion of the Dark Continent. He was appointed Consul also in the Comoro Islands in September, 1875, was made a C.M.G. in 1879, and was promoted to be Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar in January, 1880.

MADAGASCAR.—Admiral Jones, in the flagship, Her Majesty's ship *Euryalus* visited Madagascar in July last. On landing, he proceeded to Antananarivo, the capital of the island, where he had an interview with

Queen Ranavalona on the subject of the Slave-trade. The Admiral was received by the Hova Government with every mark of attention. A French company, subsidized by the French Government, has been started to run steamers between the Mauritius, Réunion Island, Madagascar, and the French settlements of Nossibe, Mayotta, and Ste Marie.—*The Times*, 24th August, 1881.

Obituary Notices.

DR. LOWE.

We deeply regret to record the death of Dr. Lowe, late Sanitary Inspector in Alexandria. This sad event occurred in Scotland on the 20th August, and is thus alluded to in *l'Egypte* of 3rd September:—"The death of Dr. Lowe has caused great grief to his many friends and acquaintances. His frank and generous nature, and his great intelligence, had acquired for him a large popularity. It will be remembered that Dr. Lowe accompanied H. E. Gordon Pasha to the Soudan, whence he was compelled to return invalided, owing to the bad climate and the hardships he underwent. He was appointed Sanitary Inspector of Alexandria, but unfortunately his declining health compelled him to retire on sick leave, and but comparatively few persons in that city have had the opportunity of appreciating at its full value the merits of this officer, as just as he was good and true. He set himself to serve the Egyptian Government with conscientious integrity, and his loss will be deeply felt."

In the *Reporter* of September, 1880, we published a long and excellent letter on the Slave Trade in Egypt, from the pen of Dr. Lowe.

VICOMTE ALFREDO DUPRAT.

We regret to announce the death, on the 24th ult., in the 71st year of his age, of the Vicomte Alfredo Duprat, for many years Consul-General for Portugal in London. In 1843 the late Vicomte was appointed Portuguese arbitrator at the Cape, in the Court of the Mixed Commission for the Suppression of Slavery, and subsequently he was advanced to the rank of Commissioner in the same Court. Among the services

rendered to his Government and country may be mentioned the treaty with the South African Republic, negotiated by Vicomte Duprat on the spot in 1869. The limit clauses of this treaty led to the arbitration by which Marshal MacMahon, when President of the French Republic, decided that Delagoa Bay, Lorenzo Marques, belonged to and formed part of the Portuguese possessions on the East Coast of Africa. In 1876 Vicomte Duprat carried to a successful issue the negotiations in London, with the representative of the Orange Free State, for the establishment of a treaty of commerce and goodwill, the ratifications of which he was instructed personally to exchange at Haarlem.

COLONEL GORDON IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

Want of space compels us to postpone any further extracts from this most interesting work until next month. We refer our readers, however, to an excellent Review of this book in the *Field* of September 10th.

In speaking of Colonel Gordon's noble nature, the Reviewer states:—"It reminds one of carbolic acid in its utter intolerance of rottenness; with one as with the other, to exist is synonymous with an endeavour to purify. But life with an everlasting accompaniment of carbolic acid would not be very endurable; and so, doubtless, thought the Egyptian authorities when their detergent officer gave up his hopeless task!"

After a *résumé* of Colonel Gordon's extraordinary work, carried on under super-human difficulties, the article thus concludes:—

"This is a tolerably wide sphere of action for a simple Queen's officer, single-handed, and depending solely on his own high principle and steady energy. If Colonel Gordon had been a soldier of fortune in the middle ages, what a name would he have made for himself! As it is, his career seems almost an anachronism."

Query: Why are the energies of such a man wasted in the narrow sphere of a small island in the Indian Ocean?—*Ed. Reporter*.

NEW EGYPTIAN JOURNAL.

We note the publication of *l'Union Egyptienne*, of Alexandria, a bi-weekly journal, under the editorship of M. Jules Sakakini, under whom we feel sure that it will not fail to advocate the rights of the slaves and the suppression of the slave trade in Egypt and her dominions. We wish it all success.

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

In the Geographical Section, presided over by Sir J. HOOKER, the Rev. HORACE WALLER read an interesting paper entitled "Some results of fifty years' exploration in Africa." In this paper the writer referred in glowing terms to the work performed by Livingstone, who had probably rendered more service to Africa than any other individual, and had given a greater impetus to the study of its geography. He spoke very highly of the route by way of the Zambesi and Laka Nyassa to the districts of Central Africa. In the absence of any report, we are unable to refer at any length to this valuable paper.

COMMANDER CAMERON, C.B., also referred to the SLAVE TRADE, which he had seen carried on from one side of the continent to the other by blacks (among others) who called themselves Portuguese, and who carried the Portuguese flag. On one occasion he was travelling with a caravan of 3,000 slaves, consisting almost entirely of women and children. Their village had been set fire to during the night, and as the men rushed out to defend their homes they were shot down, whilst the women and children were made slaves. The one great feature of African explorations was that they not only added to our geographical knowledge of the country, but were doing away with the slave trade.

With the number of facts constantly brought before us by travellers and missionaries, it appears strange that so few persons in England fully realize the terrible atrocities daily carried on by slave traders in Africa.

ABYSSINIA.

From the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*,
June 20th, 1881.

TRANSLATED BY MRS. GEORGE STURGE.

IN Egypt they are always talking of Abyssinian encroachments, and in Europe we have accustomed ourselves to look at the affairs

of Northern Africa through Egyptian (?) [Kahirinish] spectacles. People are always trying to persuade one that Abyssinia is the aggressor, and is threatening the existence of Egypt, whereas it is only needful to pay a little attention to the most recent events to arrive at a totally different conclusion. The object of these lines is to enable the reader to judge for himself, and the discussion of the subject is all the more timely, because peace is just now about to be concluded between the two countries.

When Sir Robert Napier retired with his army from Abyssinia in 1868, the country was left in a state of frightful anarchy. Much bloodshed would have been spared if Sir Robert had remained a while to restore order, and unite the country under one rule, but it would have been a thankless task, and neither the British Government nor the people appeared to have any desire to interfere further in Abyssinian affairs.

During the last few years Theodore had absolutely decimated his subjects by his cruelties and executions. But the unhappy country was to have no rest, for now all the various governors arose and strove for the mastery, and it was full ten years before a settled and united government was established.

[Then follows an account of the conflict, the end of which was that Hassai, Prince of Tigre, vanquished his enemies, and in January, 1872, had himself crowned as Negus Negest]. But this by no means put an end to the strife, and the worst of it was, that a foreign foe, Egypt, joined itself to the malcontents at home, and threatened the whole country.

At the period of the conclusion of the English campaign against Abyssinia, the ancient Empire of the Pharaohs was at the zenith of its power. The Khedive had just opened the Suez Canal. His desire for independence had certainly not been realised, for he had let the opportune moment slip by. But this made him all the more ambitious to extend his empire in a Southerly direction, and, under a pretext of suppressing the slave-trade, he succeeded in obtaining the services of a number of excellent men—among them Baker and Gordon—whose names alone were sufficient to gain over British sympathies for this conquest.

The Khedive contrived also to gain over for his schemes a man who has been the originator of the greatest mischief in Abyssinia, as well as in Egypt; great as his

services to North Africa have been as a linguist and Ethnographer. It is the part of history to pronounce verdicts; and although the grave has but just closed over Werner Munziger, and although his great scientific achievements perhaps demand reserve in judging him, still the numbers whom he caused to be slaughtered, and the unhappy relation which he introduced between Egypt and Abyssinia, speak too loudly to allow us to hesitate to state the facts, for Munziger was the cause of the war between the two countries.

Munziger accompanied the English Expedition as interpreter, diplomatist, and guide to Magdala, and it has been said, with truth, that but for him, the English would never have reached it. When the campaign was over he went to Southern Arabia to pursue scientific investigations. From this time, however, he threw himself into a political career, and his actions were guided by unbounded ambition.

In 1872, Munziger became governor of Massowa, and later on governor of Suakin; these posts are now held by a certain Ali Riza, or Rohdd. His first act was the seizure of Bogos and Menza, two entirely Abyssinian provinces with Christian populations.

Munziger was quite the confidant of the ambitious Khedive. As Governor he was able, not only to carry out his schemes of conquest, but as a fanatical Catholic, he began to work a propaganda for Rome in the north of Abyssinia. We have no wish to depreciate Munziger's services in having set up telegraph lines from Massowah, in providing the town with drinking water, and connecting the place with the continent by a strong pier, &c., but all this was for the advantage of Egypt. He tried to injure Abyssinia in every possible way. The country was completely isolated from the rest of the world. Kassala, Gedarif and Harar, which once belonged to Abyssinia, were incorporated with Egypt, and the Khedive openly declared that the whole coast of Africa from Suez to Cape Guardafui belonged to him. This was, however, certainly not recognised by the European powers, and Egypt only actually took possession of some particular points.

A plan for conquering the whole of Abyssinia had long been matured in Munziger's mind; the laurels won by Baker and Gordon allowed him no rest, and in 1874 he laid before Ismail a plan for making Abyssinia

an Egyptian province, and found a ready ear.

Up to 1874 Kassai had united Abyssinia as far as Shoa. The plan was for Munziger to unite with Menelek in attacking King John on the south, while Arakal Bey, son-in-law of Nuba Pasha was to attack him on the north. Colonel Gordon, who, meanwhile had entered the Egyptian service after Baker had withdrawn, never took any part in this scheme for the conquest of Abyssinia. The European powers looked on with indifference. It may well be questioned whether a vassal state has any right to make conquests of independent countries, without being commissioned by its sovereign to do so; especially countries which have of old been recognised by the European powers. For ever since the Portuguese visited the country of "Prester John" diplomatic intercourse has been maintained with the Christian powers.

In 1875, Munziger embarked for Tadjura, in order, in conjunction with Menelek, to subdue John. As the fates would have it, however, Munziger was on the same day killed at the battle of Gudda-Guddi, in the north of Abyssinia, which ended disastrously for the Egyptians. The battle fought at Aussa in November, 1875, was also unsuccessful. Thus ended the attack from the South.

[The invasion from the north under Arakel Bey was equally unsuccessful; after his defeat, the Viceroy sent his son Hassan to Massowa with 20,000 men. The Negus had not taken advantage of the victory of Gudda-Guddi, but had retired to Adduce. By March, 1876, the Egyptians had attained the Abyssinian heights, and had raised a regular fortification at Gura; but meanwhile the Negus had not been idle; he had had the war preached as a religious war by the Abuna and had raised an army of 100,000 men. On 25th, March, 1876, the Egyptians were again totally defeated, Prince Hassan escaped with only two battalions to Massowa, and all the munitions of war fell into the hands of the Abyssinians.]

It might have been supposed that after these defeats Egypt would have tried to make peace. By no means. Negotiations were indeed set on foot, but they led to no result. During the same year the Abuna Athanasius died, and the Negus resolved to send an Ambassador, mainly to get a new one appointed. Strange to say, on arriving at Cairo, he was thrown into prison, and was only released through the intervention of

the British Consul. Egypt, although vanquished, never ceased to insult Abyssinia, and to commit acts contrary to international law.

This was the position of affairs in 1878. There appeared to be less prospect than ever that the Khedive would subdue Abyssinia, when Uld Michael, an Abyssinian prince, who at the instigation of Egypt, had rebelled against the Negus, was imprisoned and thus rendered harmless. The decisive victories over the Mohamedans also, had by this time, so decided an influence on the minds of the Abyssinians, who are religiously inclined, that in 1879 not only Ras Adal, one of the most powerful opponents of the Negus voluntarily submitted to him, but Menelek, of Shoa, came of his own accord to Debra Tabor, and did homage to the Negus. Thus, for the first time for centuries, Abyssinia was united, for Theodore never really ruled over the whole country.

In 1879 therefore, Egypt, deemed it advisable to enter into fresh negotiations. Colonel Gordon was sent to Debra Tabor, and there seemed to be the more hope of peace, because the ambitious Ismail had meanwhile abdicated, and Tewfik, who was more cautious and more peacefully inclined, had ascended the throne. When Colonel Gordon returned in the spring of 1880 to Cairo, the world learnt with astonishment that he had accomplished nothing. However, in the Autumn of 1880 the Negus sent a fresh embassy to Egypt, but merely to ask for an Abuna. The ambassador, a priest, is still in Cairo. He met with a friendly reception, but the Egyptian Government has not yet consented to the appointment of an Abuna. In the spring of 1881 Gerard Rohlfs returned from Abyssinia, whither he had been sent by Prince Bismark with an answer to the Negus from the German Emperor. The Negus had requested all the European great powers to mediate in his disputes with Egypt. We learn that the Negus has empowered Rohlfs to make peace in his name with the Khedive. Whether he succeeds will depend mainly on England. If she supports the Negus, through Rohlfs, in his efforts, it is to be hoped that a lasting peace may be concluded. It is much to be desired that the Negus may not be exorbitant in his demands, but Egypt must remember that she has not a soldier left who would have courage to fight Abyssinia again, and that the condition in which

she has placed that country by the blockade is so intolerable that it must at length exhaust the patience of both the Negus and the people.

REPORTED PEACE BETWEEN EGYPT AND ABYSSINIA.

NOTE.—We have just heard from a private but reliable source, that peace has been concluded between Egypt and Abyssinia, and that the port of Zullah, in Annesley Bay, has been ceded to Abyssinia. This has not yet been officially announced, but we have reason to believe that the good news is quite true.

Correspondence.

SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE IN EGYPT.

Chas. H. Allen Esq.

Dear Sir,—I send you the enclosed cutting from *l'Egypte* of 2nd August.

It is not much, still it is something gained.

Always yours,

Cairo, Aug. 2. G. Schweinfurth.

"The office at Siout for the suppression of the Slave-trade has granted during July eighteen certificates of freedom which were demanded by eleven men and seven women from the Soudan."

THE EGYPTIAN SLAVE-TRADE.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.
Letter No. 1, Translation.

Dear Sir.—A letter from Kassala, dated July 16th, to the *Phare d'Alexandrie*, gives details of a fight on the extreme frontier which separates Abyssinia from the Egyptian Soudan, between Abyssinia and Egyptian soldiers. The account ends with these words :—"Rassed Effendi (an Egyptian officer) collecting all the soldiers that he could find in the neighbourhood, with the help of Ahmed Hagag Sheik, of Baria, and of Seid Abda, Sheik of Bazan, pursued the Abyssinians, whom he knew to be fatigued and dying of thirst. After a day and a half's march they reached them in the night, and made a great slaughter of them during their sleep. Wod-Maraz, nephew of the King, was killed. As soon as the Abyssinians saw that their prince was dead they fled in disorder with loud cries.

The Egyptians brought back with them five men prisoners as well as two children and twelve women. As soon as the Governor-General of the Soudan was aware of these facts, he telegraphed to Rassad an order to give up the prisoners. *This order has only been executed as regards the men. The women and the children have remained in the power of the Egyptians, and shut up in harems.*

The correspondent of the *Phare d'Alexandrie* does not say what measures Raouf Pacha (Governor of the Soudan) has taken towards an officer placed under his orders, and infringing them in such an audacious manner. What shall we come to if the Egyptian officers, following the example of the chiefs of the tribes of central Africa, make slave-hunts? Is it not to be feared that such functionaries, considering it more economical to procure slaves by force instead of purchase, will excite and keep up a state of hostility between the distant provinces of Egypt and the neighbouring tribes.

As to the fact itself, it shows one of two things: either the impotence, if not the connivance, of Raouf Pasha, or the disobedience of the Egyptian officers in the Soudan. This is a grave state of affairs, and merits the deepest attention. Every impartial mind is called upon to doubt the efficiency of the efforts made for the repression of the Slave-trade in the Soudan whilst an international commission furnished with full powers by the government of the Khedive does not organise its repression in a serious and energetic manner by confiding it to European officers. It would be strange if they should longer delegate the charge, or at least the direction, of this repression to agents, who, from political or material interest, are notoriously hostile to this reform, and from their education oppose a blind resistance to European ideas.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

DR. DUTRIEUX.

Alexandria, August 15, 1881.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Letter No. 2, Translation.

Dear Sir,—In *l'Egypte* of the 15th August, the following lines appeared, to which I beg to call your attention.

"A Military Convoy. The Shibin steamer, of the compagnie Khediviale, which left Zeilah on the 16th July, arrived at Suez the 10th August, having on board 500 soldiers, who were immediately landed.

"These 500 men came from Harar. They were accompanied by their wives and children. They had been sent there to be employed as masons, labourers, navvies, &c., and also as soldiers, at the rate of 22 p. t. monthly. They complain of not having received any pay for nine months. They are in fact in a state of misery that moves one to pity. Men, women and children are in rags, and have not even tents to shelter them. When they were landed a distribution of biscuit and water was made. They ate and drank with an avidity which showed to what privations they had been exposed.

"They were obliged to encamp in the Beue, and endure for two days the heat of the day and the chill of the night.

"Other arrangements ought to be made for these unfortunate people, arrangements dictated by feelings of humanity which do not seem to be very well understood at Suez."

I ask you to observe that these really scandalous facts occurred in Harar, and that the responsibility rests with the Governor of Harar, who has just attained such a melancholy celebrity on the occasion of the assassination of the French traveller, Monsieur Lucereau. If this Governor behaves in such a manner towards his *employés* and his soldiers, what wonder if these men yield to the temptations of hunger and pillage the neighbouring tribes on the Egyptian frontier? Now, you know that during these raids their want of moral sense sometimes leads them—the fact is notorious—to carry off and keep as slaves women and children and to sell them clandestinely afterwards.

Therefore, it is not only a *traffie* in slaves, it is also a *CAPTURE OF SLAVES*, which is being carried on openly and with impunity in the *Egyptian Soudan*. This side of the question deserves to be brought to light at a time when the European Powers are beginning to sift the acts of Abou-Beker-Pacha and of so many other Egyptian functionaries who have such a strange way of interpreting the philanthropic intentions of the Khedive, and putting in force the Anglo-Egyptian Convention relative of the Slave trade !!

I remain dear, Sir, Yours faithfully,

DR. DUTRIEUX.

Alexandria, August 16th, 1881.

A HETEROGENEOUS COLONY.

PROBABLY few corners of the earth contain representatives of a greater variety of races, possessing more curious features than the

British settlement of Sierra Leone and its dependencies. The report on the recent census taken in this Colony shows the total population to be 60,546, of whom 53,862 are located in the peninsula of Sierra Leone, in which is included British Quiah. These people dwell in 12,248 houses, of which 7,036 are of wattle and daub, 5,015 of wood, and 197 of stone. Out of this population only 271 are "white," including 172 British, 35 French, 17 each of German and Swiss, 13 Americans, and the rest representatives of eight European nations. But no less than 60 languages are spoken in the streets of Freetown. What these languages are may be better imagined than described from a recapitulation of some of the names of the principal tribes which contribute to the very mixed populations of the Colony. There are the Timmanees—pagans inhabiting the several petty kingdoms adjoining Quiah, where with the help of their slaves, they grow rice and ground-nuts—of whom the Colonial Treasurer says:—"I would willingly ascribe to the nearest of our neighbours some virtues, if they had any; but unfortunately, taken as a people, they have been too truly described by able and observant writers as dishonest and depraved, and many of them are indolent." Then there are the Mandingoes, of migratory habits, skilful as tanners and blacksmiths, shrewd in business, and many of them becoming brokers, and interchangers of produce for the other less intelligent tribes. Of all the tribes these are said to be the "least mendacious." Mohammedan in religion, they are said to set an example, in the care of their aged and in their generally praiseworthy behaviour, which others would do well to emulate. The Foulahs, a race that "may be briefly described as dirty but rich," come next. They are descended from the Arab tribes, and their features somewhat resemble those of Europeans. They also are Mohammedans—by profession, if not in practice: for, though a fine-looking race, they are of uncleanly habits, and seem to have a natural aversion to clean clothes. Then there are the Soosoos—Islamites again—a good, hard-working people, cultivating produce of all kinds; and the Mendis, a warrior race of out-and-out pagans, living by war, and ready to hire themselves out as warmen to almost any tribe or nation willing to pay them or to offer the prospects of plunder as a reward. As a contrast to them come the Kroomen, so well known as boatmen and carriers, and employed by every trader down the coast. These men are subject—even those in Sierra Leone itself—to their own chosen king, who settles disputes and adjudicates "summarily" on minor cases of larceny, &c. The smaller tribes of Akus and Eboes, and Congos and Popos, Moccos and Loccos, Kakandalis and Kalibars, and many others, all contribute their quota to the heterogeneous population of the Colony, where, however, they seem to dwell peaceably together, acknowledging the benefits of English government, some of them learning trades after a fashion, but chiefly employing

themselves as roaming traders, bringing to the coast their gold, rubber, bees-wax, and copal, and making Sierra Leone the entrepôt for the trade of the aboriginal inhabitants of the interior. Sixteen thousand of the recorded population of Sierra Leone are pagans, 5,000 are Mohammedans, 18,660 are Episcopalians, 17,800 are Methodists, and the rest Baptists and Roman Catholics. Speaking of the large number of places of worship of various kinds in the Colony, Mr. Griffiths says:—"I am aware how hard it is for the most earnest and painstaking to struggle with pagans, who for years have carried on their acts of idolatrous worship in Sierra Leone. But it seems equally hard to understand that, surrounded with churches and chapels, and mixing with the large body of pastors and teachers, there should still be those amongst us who believe in and worship every possible thing from smallpox to thunder. . . . It is not for me to criticise the motives which actuate the people in erecting so many preaching-places, or judge of the good which results therefrom; yet I cannot help mentioning how often during my two years' residence I have thought what increased advantages would result if the majority of those who teach and preach to their African brethren would inculcate a little less of the 'Lord will provide' doctrine, and a great deal more of the theory which teaches us to believe that 'God helps those who help themselves.'"—*The Colonies and India.*

LIBERIA.

Mr. Samuel Gurney, President of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, has kindly forwarded us a letter that he has received from his and our excellent friend, Edward S. Morris, dated Philadelphia, July 25, 1881. This energetic friend of Liberia describes in enthusiastic language the manner in which his kindly "heart throbs for the entire success of his Lighthouse for the Dark Continent. . . . As in the past so now do I see in the near future a multiplication of schoolhouses, stepping year by year, farther into the interior, and reaching the Niger Valley. The corner-stone of such a success (he very properly observes) "rests entirely upon a total abnegation of self—a life hid with Christ in God."

We regret to hear that Mrs. Ogden, who had been appointed teacher in the school, has been obliged to leave Liberia on account of the climate, but Mr. Morris has appointed "the Rev. J. O. Hayes, a full-blooded negro, a scholar, and a Christian gentleman," to succeed Mrs. Ogden. We believe this is a step in the right direction, as only coloured persons appear able to combat successfully with the peculiarly unhealthy influences of the West African climate.

We are very glad to note that Mr. Morris asserts with much prudence that he shall not build the costly and substantial schoolhouses that it is his purpose to erect "until the 100 acres of land are properly and safely leased" to him.

We shall be very glad to hear of the continued success of Mr. Morris' scheme. We note that he has now forty Africans in the school, and this number will probably soon increase.

We have frequently seen that samples of Liberian coffee have been highly commended, and we trust, with Mr. Morris, that "the opening of this new and extended field for coffee will be one of the means at an early day of establishing coffee-houses instead of rum-mills '*with Satan in solution*,' at the corners of our streets."

THE SLAVE TRADE AMONG THE TURKOMANS.

Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. Stewart, in an interesting paper read before the Royal Geographical Society, June 27th, gives the following terrible account of slavery amongst that people:—

The existence of Persian slaves in these countries has long been known; but the part taken by Russia in procuring their liberation is not so generally known, and well deserves to be recorded.

"My stay in Daragez was rather eventful; on some five occasions I heard the call from the top of the mosque, "Turkomans! Turkomans! mount and away!" which is the call for the Governor's cavalry to mount and proceed in hot haste in pursuit of bands of these marauders who were carrying off slaves and cattle. No one in England has any conception of the fearful sufferings of this slave trade carried on by the Turkomans. I believe the number of slaves in Bokhara, Khiva, and the Turkoman country itself a few years since amounted to more than 100,000. Of course it is difficult to gather statistics on such a point, but 40,000 slaves are said, I do not know with what truth, to have been released by the Russians in Khiva alone. The value of slaves has fallen considerably since the Russians have closed the slave markets in Khiva and Bokhara. The Persian slaves in Bokhara have not been released, but the open sale of captives there has been prohibited, and

though a few slaves, especially women, can still be secretly sold in Bokhara, Russia has struck a great blow at the Turkoman slave trade. The noble deed performed by that power in releasing the numerous slaves in Khiva has added very much to her influence in this part of Persia. In almost every village I met liberated slaves, who spoke of the kindness of the Russians in freeing them. Great numbers of the freed slaves were killed by the Turkomans on their return journey from Khiva.

Formerly the great slave-catching places were on the caravan road between Teheran and Mash-had, near Miandasht. From this neighbourhood many slaves were carried off, often people of good family. An Indian princess was so captured, and I believe died in consequence of the ill-treatment she received. The sufferings of the poor slaves while being carried off is terrible, as they are lashed on a horse's back behind their captors, often wounded while being taken prisoners, and are allowed very little rest, night or day, until they reach the Turkoman tents. They are then heavily ironed, a ring being passed round the neck and one round each leg. From these rings there are chains fastening the legs together, and a long chain from the neck ring which is fastened to a tent-peg. I saw prisoners fastened in this Turkoman manner at Mahomadabad.

Women slaves are preferred. Imagine the feelings of a young woman of good family, torn from her friends and relations (probably after seeing her husband killed in defending her), and carried ruthlessly away. She, who has never even shown her face, is stripped and offered for sale. Fortunate for her if she is not pretty, for then her friends may be able to ransom her. If beautiful, her captor will not probably part with her at any price. I am not painting a picture, but depicting scenes of almost daily occurrence.

The presence of the Russians across the Atrak has rendered the road from Teheran to Mash-had now safe, but slave-hunting is still carried on in Daragez and the country on the east of Khorasan. Though the closing of the slave trade in Bokhara and Khiva has lowered the price of slaves they are still valuable for work in the Turkoman country and for ransom by their friends.

The Turkomans almost always kill all they cannot carry away captive. If pressed in pursuit they cut off either the hands or feet, or both, of the captives, and then leave them. I know of a well authenticated case of their doing this to a number of their captives."—*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, September, 1881.*

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The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

THE LATE PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

"Death the Victor! Garfield dead."

Such was the telegram flashed from the United States to this country announcing the death of the late President.

We would rather say, *"Life the Victor! Garfield lives."* Long and patiently did the poor body struggle against the inroads of disease and decay, let in by the assassin's bullet, but the noble spirit gave no sign of decadence. With unfaltering step he pursued the even tenor of his way along what was left of the painful road of his earthly career, and the dead President has now entered into "that other chamber of the King, larger than this and loftier." Will he not there find *work* also to be done, "larger and loftier" than any he could do on earth?

We will not fill our pages with words of mourning for one who has been called by his Divine Master to labour in a higher field, though we grieve sincerely that a great and good man has been removed from our visible presence.

Rather let us recall the noble words which he spoke at his inauguration to the Presidential Chair in Washington on the 4th March last, in which he proclaimed the equal rights of the Negro race. "The will of the nation speaking through the voice of battle, and through an amended Constitution has fulfilled the great promise of 1776 by proclaiming liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof. The elevation of the negro race from Slavery to the full rights of citizenship is the most important political change we have known since the adoption of the constitution of 1787." *

* *Vide Anti-Slavery Reporter*, page 42.

During the short months of his presidency he has manfully striven to uphold the right, and by his tragic death we trust the serious attention of both North and South has been aroused to the carrying out of that equal right of citizenship to which both 'black' and 'white' are alike entitled.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR.

Without expressing any opinion as to the peculiar form of the Constitution of the United States, by which the representative of a minority immediately steps into the place of a man elected by a majority of the nation, whenever death removes a President during his term of office, which to our English ideas appears to be singularly objectionable, we are glad to give prominence to the strong views formerly held by President Arthur on the slave question. From the *Boston Herald* we extract a short account of the early career of the new President, which will be read with interest by all who sympathise in the past and present condition of the coloured races.

"In the year 1851, having by great economy saved 500 dols., young Arthur went to New York city and entered the law office of E. D. Culver as a student. Two years later he was admitted to the bar, and thenceforward followed the legal profession with marked success. Mr. Culver, while a member of Congress from Washington county, had made himself noted for his anti-slavery views, and these opinions he sedulously instilled into the mind of young Arthur, who was not slow in receiving them. In the year 1852, the office of E. D. Culver had the management of a very celebrated slave case. A Virginia slave-holder, named Jonathan Lammon, came to New York with eight slaves, intending to ship them to Texas. On the petition of a free coloured man, Judge Elijah Paine, of the superior court of New York city, gave the slaves their liberty. This act caused great indignation at the

South, and Gov. Cobb of Georgia declared it to be 'a just cause for war.' The case was taken to the higher courts, and the Legislature of Virginia assigned eminent counsel to conduct the appeal. The Legislature of New York thereupon requested the Governor to appoint counsel to defend the interest of the state. Mr. Culver, having acted as counsel for the slaves before Judge Paine, was appointed the state's counsel. He subsequently resigned in favour of Mr. Arthur, who, associating with himself William M. Evarts, fought the case up to the court of appeals. In every court

THE DECISION WAS IN THEIR FAVOUR,

although Charles O'Connor was the opposing counsel. From this time forward no slaveholder dared to trust his negro property in the state of New York. In 1853, Mr. Arthur formed a law partnership with Henry D. Gardiner, and the firm immediately acquired a very large and lucrative practice. It was not long before Mr. Arthur had another opportunity to again interpose in behalf of the oppressed blacks. Up to 1855 coloured people were not allowed on the street cars of New York, except in some shabby ones labelled 'Coloured persons allowed on this car.' Lizzie Jennings, a respectable coloured woman, while returning home after performing her duties as superintendent of a Sunday-school, was forced off a Fourth avenue car, after she had paid her fare, by the conductor and several policemen. This was done in consequence of a drunken white man saying: 'I have paid my fare, and I want a decent ride, and you must put her off.' Mr. Arthur, on behalf of the woman thus unjustly treated, sued the railroad company for 500 dols. damages, and won his case triumphantly. This decision 'put a stop to the exclusion of coloured people from the street cars, and was the occasion of much rejoicing among the coloured population of the city. He became known as the champion of the coloured people, and his docket was filled with cases at each session of the court. He naturally became interested in the negro race, and a determined opponent of slavery.'

UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.

On Thursday, the 17th September, at the Devonshire House Hotel, a public breakfast was given to the coloured bishops and other delegates attending the Ecumenical Methodist Conference, by the Committee of the Templar Mission, with the co-operation of the Anti-Slavery Society.

The object of the gathering was, as stated on the card of invitation, "to express sympathy in relation to the

various phases of ostracism to which they are subjected in the United States, and to confer as to best methods of advancing the cause of human brotherhood throughout the world."

EDMUND STURGE, Esq., Hon. Sec. of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, presided. There were about ninety guests in the room, and among their number we noticed the following ladies and gentlemen:—Mrs. A. Smith, Miss C. Impey, Miss B. Allen, Mrs. Blyth, &c., and Messrs. Stafford Allen, W. Tarver, Leng (National Temperance League), John Hilton (United Kingdom Alliance), F. Sherlock (Church of England Temperance Society), A. O. Baldwin, T. B. Smithies, C. H. Allen (Secretary Anti-Slavery Society), Abraham Kingdon, Bernard M. Allen, J. Eastoe Teall; the Revs. G. M. Murphy, Dawson Burns, and G. W. McCree, &c.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, expressed his regret that Mr. S. Gurney was unable to preside, as had been expected. He then gave some interesting recollections of the Anti-Slavery movement during the past half century. He said that he remembered Mr. Garrison's first visit to England in 1833, at a time when he was little known. On one occasion he was present at a committee meeting, and heard Mr. Garrison detail some of the horrors of the slave system in America, and at the close of his speech he felt that he (the Chairman) could have said with the Queen of Sheba, "The half was never told me." At the time of Mr. Garrison's visit the Anti-Slavery agitation in England was at its height; but this shortly after terminated by the passing of the Abolition Act. During the period that has elapsed since then, slavery had been abolished in all the English Colonies and in the United States; and, with the exception of Brazil and Cuba, it had disappeared from the whole of the western world. The efforts of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society were now directed to the more difficult task of abolishing slavery in Mohammedan countries, where there was no Christian sentiment to appeal to as there was in America.

When Mr. Garrison was last here in 1877, in this very room he referred to the prospects of the emancipated people in the United States, and he spoke with very considerable apprehension of the sufferings they would have to endure for some years to come. But he remarked that this was but

the oscillation of the pendulum, and the equilibrium would be at length attained. Mr. Garrison's speech was too long to read, but he could only say that the question was one in which the Society was deeply interested, and would carefully watch over. In conclusion, the Chairman said that the fact that Parliament was not then sitting had prevented the present from being what he believed would have been a very large gathering. He himself had found that every officer of the Administration was absent. On the occasion when Mr. Garrison was entertained in a similar manner, 20 members of Parliament were present, and he thought that under the circumstances they might congratulate themselves on having such a good attendance.

Mr. MORLAND then read letters of sympathy and regret at their inability to attend from the Lord Mayor, the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P., Canon Duckworth, Mr. Samuel Gurney, Mr. G. Palmer, M.P., Sir Henry Gordon, K.C.B., and several other gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Miss Catherine Impey to explain the object of the meeting.

Miss IMPEY said that she would not go into the general question, but would explain what their Mission was. It had been called a Templar Negro Mission, but that was a very poor, inexpressive name. It ought to be called the International Templar Committee for extending fellowship to the negro in the order in which they were working. Miss Impey then explained what the Good Templars were. She said that they were a temperance organization that had taken more than the abstinence pledge. They had dedicated their lives to the promotion of the cause of temperance. They felt that drink was the great curse of the world, and they wished everybody to come into their Order, men, women, or children, black or white, for the purpose of pressing forward the work of getting rid of strong drink. They felt as brothers and sisters to one another; and they could not feel it consistent that any persons should be shut out who were willing to join with them, and they wished their coloured brothers and sisters in America to take part in this great work. With regard to the question of social distinctions in England, the speaker did not think that it was consistent to have distinctions in religious or moral work of any kind. This really meant asserting a very different Christian doctrine from that of all men are brothers. She was sorry to say that the brethren in America did not see with them in this matter—this great caste question within the Order. Persons endeavoured to establish a separate organization for coloured people, and for nine years they had been fighting the question.

Miss Impey then read a letter which Mr. Garrison had written in May, 1878. This letter was read to a meeting held in Boston. They had understood that Mr. Garrison had

wavered on this coloured question, and a deputation called upon him to see whether he had done so or not. They asked him to be present at a meeting, but being in poor health he could not attend, but promised to write a letter. It was addressed to William Wells Brown and after expressing his fear lest he might not be able to be present, Mr. Garrison continued:—

"I wish at least to record in this manner my high appreciation of their (the British Delegates) fidelity to the principles of freedom, temperance, and human brotherhood, as shown in their constant refusal, and that of the Order they represent, to sanction or tolerate any complexional caste in the matter of membership on either side of the Atlantic. The division which has taken place in the ranks of the Good Templars has not been of *their* seeking; it had its origin in the Southern spirit of contempt for the coloured race, encouraged by northern prejudice and pusillanimity, which would for ever deprive that long outraged class of equal rights and privileges, and keep them from rising in the scale of civilisation. For the faithful testimony borne against such wicked proscription by Mr. Malins and his co-delegates, and for the promptitude with which they courageously met it on Southern soil, they deserve the warmest commendation; and now that they have come again to these shores in furtherance of the same good cause, and in the same uncompromising spirit of justice and equality, let their reception be proportionate to their deserts.

"They have had to pass through a severe ordeal, encountering much misrepresentation and abuse, but they have maintained their ground unflinchingly, and shown that they are not of those who believe in doing evil that good may come. It is a shocking delusion to imagine that the best way to promote the temperance reformation or any other righteous movement is by erecting an insurmountable barrier of caste, seeking the elevation of one class by the degradation of another and substituting the measuring line of rank injustice for the golden rule.

"Intemperance knows no distinction of race, nativity, or clime, and none should be known invidiously in the struggle to banish it from the world. While different methods and instrumentalities to this end may be lawfully and even advantageously adopted, they must in no case minister to pride, self-conceit, oppression, or any other evil propensity.

"Some time ago my testimony to the praiseworthy action of Mr. Malins and his associates was borne across the Atlantic in a letter which, I believe, was printed and extensively circulated, and I here renew it with special satisfaction and increased emphasis.

"Yours for total abstinence, prohibition, and the fraternisation of the whole human race,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

"To Dr. William Wells Brown."

The speaker then referred to the fact that all through the struggle they had had the sympathy of many Anti-Slavery workers, and mentioned the names of Wendell Phillips, Levi Coffin, Lucretia Mott, Joseph Cooper, and Edmund Sturge. Mr. Chesson also was especially mentioned as having supported the movement. They felt very strongly indeed that if the English people knew the length to which this separation system had been carried in America they would speak out. The object of that meeting was to give information. Those who had been in America had seen something of this question, but let the coloured friends speak for themselves. The meeting had been called to express in as public a manner as possible their abhorrence of the system. They felt that it was the duty of men and women to rise against, and break down this un-Christian system between black and white. It was sometimes said in America that coloured people preferred being in a separate society, but it was a shame to the white people for it to be so. Good Templars must try to push forward wherever there was an opening. They knew that in asking their friends to work for Templary they were asking a hard thing, but the speaker hoped they would do their best to work with them; they, on their side, would hold with them.

DR. TANNER, of Philadelphia, editor of the *Christian Recorder*, was the next speaker. He said that he would venture the assertion that of all its fifty millions there was no more unhappy class than the better educated coloured people of America. They had this peculiarity — "white black men." Their rights were continually questioned; they were continually talked about, as though they were extra human—not above, but below. How gladly they had hailed the words of sympathy they had received from the English people no words of his could tell. They stood by them in their conflict for personal freedom. By the strong protest of English opinion on the question, as much as by their own sword and cannon, was the battle of liberty fought; and now the English say that they intend to stand by them in this great, if not greater, fight for their common rights. They simply asked that their white brethren should take no more account of the colour of their faces than they take of the colour of their hair. Nothing that a coloured man can do in America can admit him into American Society, although he might have wealth and education. The ban is placed upon him; he is down, and he is told to keep down. On his return to America, he should do his best to induce his coloured brethren to accept the proffered hand which was held out to them.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. Joseph Malins, whom he described as "the Agamemnon of the Good Templar Cause."

MR. MALINS (who was loudly cheered) then gave an interesting account of the history of the Good Templar Order. He said that at

present they were endeavouring—to use an American expression — "to rub out the colour line." When the Society was formed in New York State thirty years ago, it combined the elements of two previous organizations — the one the Knight Templars of Jericho (which was an institution formed to advocate the prohibition of the drink traffic), and the other the Good Samaritans, whose special duty was to rescue the destitute and reclaim the drunkard. It progressed upon the basis of no colour distinction. At first the South would not join the cause, but some time after the war it joined the North, and they began to elbow out the coloured members of the various lodges. In 1868 the movement was introduced into England, and in 1876, in Kentucky, where the Court was held, the English members presented an ultimatum on the question of colour. The consequence was that the English Order separated from the American. Independence was what they desired to inculcate in the minds of the poor coloured people. If the American white members of the Order would not shake hands with the coloured ones, they, the English white members, who were equal to the American ones, would do so.

BISHOP PAYNE then addressed the gathering, and stated that he knew of no power, force, or agency under the heavens that could drive the demon of prejudice, which pervaded the State, and enervated the Church, from American soil than the two forces—education and Christianity.

BISHOP HOOD (of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Zion), was the next speaker. He gave an interesting account of the history of the Order in North Carolina, and showed that although at first the coloured members were treated with great indignity, now, so far as the Order was concerned, no opposition whatever was shown to them.

BISHOP HOLSEY (a former slave), also considered that education and Christianity were the proper remedies for raising the coloured people to a higher position in society.

(A discussion here arose as to the status of coloured ministers in the United States, and as to whether they could become pastors of white churches. The existence of such pastors were denied by some and asserted by others, but it was generally understood that the exchange of pulpits was not a rule, but a compliment paid by the white pastors.)

Rev. Mr. O'BANYAN, from Canada, gave an account of the formation of Good Templar Lodges in Nova Scotia and in Halifax, and he wished the I.O.G.T. God speed.

Rev. Mr. PECK, of Maryland, spoke of the part the Methodist Church of America was taking in educating the coloured people there.

Rev. W. Ross, of Rothesay, Scotland, was the next speaker, and in a vigorous address touched upon the question of education and Christianity.

Rev. Mr. TOWNSEND then spoke on the true status of the coloured people in America at the present time. He said that the negroes had some good friends there, but they were almost all to be found to the north of what was called Mason and Dixon's line. In the south, coloured ladies and gentlemen were not allowed to travel in a first-class carriage, or to stop at first-rate hotels, nor even to sit in the same waiting rooms as white people. Even in Philadelphia, where he resided, although he was the third largest ratepayer in his ward, he had to send his little girl into another one, although she was as white as any lady in the room (in fact he might say quite a *blonde*), and although there was a school-house in his ward for which he had to pay rates.

Dr. TANNER confirmed what Mr. Townsend said, and remarked that in Philadelphia he himself had to pay a dollar and a half a week for travelling expenses to send his children to school in a distant ward.

BISHOP BROWN took up the question where Mr. Townsend left off, and in a most entertaining speech related his own experiences in the South, remarking that the coloured people had separate churches, because they were compelled by the whites to do so. With regard to himself, he had built his house on a hill where there was a clear atmosphere, and he did not find that his wife and family ostracised him very much.

The Rev. J. C. BRYCE, a pure black, from North Carolina, said that as he was slightly interested in the colour question, it would be a dereliction of duty if he failed to express sympathy with the coloured people. In his State the latter were allowed to ride in cars, but they were not allowed to eat their meals at the hotels; and in confirmation of this statement he gave an amusing account of some of his own experiences on this point. The coloured people, he said, do not desire a separation; it is forced upon them. All they wanted was a fair start, and let the devil take the hindmost; they would find it was not always the "nigger."

Mrs. AMANDA SMITH, a black lady, then addressed the meeting, but before doing so she sang a solo, "The Lord will provide," the audience joining in the chorus with the words:—

"It may not be my time,
It may not be thy time,
Yet in his own time,
The Lord will provide."

Mrs. Smith said that this same feeling of caste existed all over the world. She had experienced it herself in Leicester, where she had been sent from one hotel to another on the plea that the hotel was full. On arriving at the hotel where she was allowed to stay, she was sent up in a lift to the top of the building, and on the following morning having asked for the breakfast room, she was

shewn down to the kitchen, while the servants nodded and winked and giggled. In the United States she had met with kindness from the whites, and on one occasion had been taken down to dinner by a white clergyman.

The Rev. DAWSON BURNS followed, and remarked that the Free-will Baptists in America had always been the opponents of slavery, and were almost without exception temperance men.

Mr. T. B. SMITHIES, editor of the *British Workman*, in an earnest speech referred to the fact that caste was being broken down in India, and advised those present to remember that God never does what man can do. He also stated that about the time of the war he inserted in the *British Workman* copies of advertisements of slaves for sale which had appeared in American papers, and circulated several thousand copies of the same amongst the press of the United States. The amount of abuse which the American editors bestowed upon him was very great.

Rev. G. W. MCCREE followed, and suggested that the word "coloured" should be omitted by ministers in all announcements from the pulpit and from bills. They did not describe ministers as "fat" or "thin," and he did not see why they should describe them as coloured. He also referred to the great anti-slavery work which George Thompson had performed, and said that he was astonished that his life had not been written.

PRESIDENT BRADEN, of Nashville, Tennessee, who was loudly called for, then addressed the gathering. He said that for the past fourteen years he had been associated with freedom in the South. On one occasion he had nearly lost his life by writing the truth about a man who had abused, whipped, and trodden upon a white lady in a southern village. The white man who took hold of the negro for the purpose of helping him was considered to be a little lower than the negro himself. On his return to his college he should tell his coloured students, to the number of 360, who were being trained for various professions, what friends they had in England.

Mr. CLARK, of Iowa, asked how was it that there were no coloured men in Congress now, although ten or twelve years ago there were fifteen?

Mr. MORLAND moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman. This was seconded by Mr. Kempster, and supported by the Rev. Mr. Townsend and the Rev. W. M. Webb (of Jamaica), who described briefly the condition of the coloured people of the island, and stated that before leaving for England he had been requested to thank the Anti-Slavery Society for the great services rendered to them.

Mr. STURGE having replied, the meeting separated at a quarter-past one.

THE CRISIS IN EGYPT.

A correspondent of *The Times* in a series of letters dated from Alexandria, within the last few weeks, has given a very interesting sketch of the late history of Egypt, and of the event that led up to the military crisis which has just resulted in the resignation of Riaz Pasha.

It is too early yet for us to form any opinion as to whether there is any better prospect for the suppression of the slave-trade under Chérif Pasha, than existed under his predecessor.

We have always believed, that the present Khedive himself has this great question at heart, but he has hitherto been unable to carry out the decree for the abolition of slavery, which has so long been promised to the European Powers.

Ismail Pasha also professed to wish to extirpate this scourge of humanity, and his appointment of Colonel Gordon as Governor-General of the Soudan, was a step in the right direction. Anyone, however, who reads Colonel Gordon's most interesting book, cannot fail to perceive that the support which he received, was more nominal than real. The "ring of Pashas" was too strong for him, and eventually this high-minded English officer, was compelled to throw up his command in disgust.

Though we fear that under the mild régime of Tewfik, the slave-trade has shown small signs of diminishing, we have reasons to believe that the *Fellaheen*, who form the masses of Egyptian population, are far better off than they were under Ismail.

From the *Times* correspondent, we quote the following description of the state of things under the late Khedive, regretting that space precludes our giving more than a very short portion.

"We must go back to the time of Ismail Pasha, prior to the financial collapse, to thoroughly appreciate the forces at work. We need not do so, however, more than to recall the then position of the country. Ismail was literally absolute master of Egypt. He succeeded in impressing Europe with the idea that he was in advance of his countrymen. Extremely fascinating in manner, plausible to a degree which almost gives a new meaning to the word, generous and hospitable beyond bounds, he was, perhaps, chiefly known to Europe as the man who had made the Suez Canal, assumed the responsibility of the private debts of the fellaheen, and yet paid his coupons with regularity. But he had done more than captivate Europe; he had bought, body and soul, the whole Palace coterie of Constantinople. No financial commission has ever been able to reckon the millions that poured into the Imperial exchequer, still less those that found their way through private channels. He was a standing advertisement of Mussulman capabilities for progress, while he fed the Porte with the solid results of oppression. Only one class had cause to complain—the miserable fellah, ground to his last farthing, and told that he could not be overtaxed because all he had was his Sovereign's, or impressed into the army, and if he grumbled for pay reminded that he was no worse off than if taken for the *corvée*. These murmurs Europe never heard or treated as exaggerations—the Porte heard, but refused to listen—until the pockets of the bondholders were touched, and until supplies ceased to come regularly to the Golden Horn. Then Europe interfered, and found Turkey no unwilling ally. Ismail was deposed, an age of reformers began, and to what did they direct attention? To the finances. No doubt it was the immediate evil; perhaps it was the first to require remedy; but we must not forget that we were dealing with an ignorant people, and when we look for gratitude we must not be so utterly surprised if we are met by the argument—

"Your pockets were touched; you redressed our wrongs so far as they related to your coupons; you were owed the money and you took steps to get it paid; you could not do so without remedying our fiscal administration, and you did that. But what else have you done? Have you listened to our demands for justice? Have you bettered our position one iota in matters non-fiscal?

We have complained against this and that Mudir; he was maintained in office because he was a cousin or nephew of Riaz Pasha. We complained, and your answer was that greater interests were involved; you could not quarrel with Riaz for this or that act of injustice. Why? Because it would have compromised what you call 'bigger interests'—that is, the payment of your coupons.'

"England and France, I do not say unwisely, but injudiciously, identified themselves too strongly with the Ministry of Riaz Pasha; they were right from their own point of view, from their position of impartial and intelligent onlookers, but they had to deal with a population neither impartial nor intelligent, and their motives were misconstrued. The Ministry of Riaz Pasha became identified with European influence, and European influence with the interests of the bondholders."—*The Times*, Oct. 6th, 1881.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONGRESS AT VENICE AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

AN attempt was made by the Anti-Slavery Society, through their active CORRESPONDING MEMBER, DR. SCHWEINFURTH, to induce the Congress to pass some strong resolution condemnatory of Slavery and the Slave-trade. This was, however, not feasible, as the Congress ruled that the subject could not be considered a geographical question! Count Louis Penazzi, who was a great friend of the late Gessi Pacha, was in the meantime earnestly engaged in trying to obtain a vote of the Central Committee, though unhappily in vain. We have pleasure in printing his letter to the President of the Anti-Slavery Society, and also a translation of his excellent speech.

We sincerely trust that Count Penazzi will have a safe and prosperous journey to the Lakes, and that he will bring back much valuable information relative to the slave-trade in these distant countries. We also print Dr. Schweinfurth's letter on this subject. The Society is much indebted to him and to Count Penazzi, for their exertions in this good cause.

"VENICE, the 20th September, 1881.

"The Right Hon. President of the Anti-Slavery Society, London.

"Dear Sir,—Dr. Schweinfurth communicated to me this morning the wish of the London Anti-Slavery Society, that the ques-

tion of the abolition of slavery should be brought before the Third Geographical International Congress.

"I had already anticipated your wishes, and three days ago (19th September), I had the honour to present to the Eighth Section of the Congress, a motion to be presented to the Central Committee, and by its channel to be presented to the General Assembly, kept on the 18th inst.

"I enclose to you the speech I delivered in French on the occasion. My motion was backed by Messrs. D'Abbadie, Folleibet, and Serpa-Pinto. The members of the Eighth Section, nearly all African explorers, as I am myself, voted unanimously my order of the day.

"Unfortunately none of us were present at the Central Committee when the motion voted by the Eighth Section, was called upon for discussion.

"The members of the Central Committee, and that greatly surprised me, gave the following vote:—

"The Central Committee of the Third Geographical International Congress join their wishes to the wishes expressed by Count Louis Penazzi's motion, and voted by the Eighth Section of the Congress, but as the question of slavery has nothing to do with geographical services, the Central Committee thinks such a motion cannot be presented for its approval at the Congress General Meeting."

"My intention was nevertheless to prepare my motion in yesterday's general meeting, but having very few personal acquaintances in the presiding members of the Congress, and not knowing of Dr. Schweinfurth's presence, I did not do it, afraid of injuring the cause I intended to defend.

"I am very sorry for what has happened. It is my conviction that the questions about slavery have quite as well a right to be presented to a Geographical Congress, whose mission is as much to promote moral progress as scientific progress, the financial questions about the Isthmus of Panama, of Corinth, presented by Messrs. De Lesseps and General Thierr to the General Meeting of the Congress.

"This morning I concluded with Mr. Schweinfurth, that if in to-morrow's General Meeting I have the smallest chance of speaking, I will present again my motion, and that he will back it. With a name of such an importance as Schweinfurth, I am sure I will victoriously carry the point.

"Excuse me, dear sir, my broken English, but I am much out of practice. In November I will probably leave Europe for Africa, searching a route through the Galla country to the Lakes. If I may be of any use to you for the abolition of slavery you may depend upon my best services. I am a great friend of Dr. Dutrieux, and that is the reference I offer.—Yours truly,

"COUNT LOUIS PENNAZZI.

"My address is Plaisance, Haute, Italy.

"P.S.—I will be most grateful to the Anti-Slavery Society if the President will kindly

publish the speech I delivered to the members of the Eighth Section of the Congress in the annals of the Society, and if he will be kind enough to send me a couple of copies of such publication.

“VENICE, September 23rd.

“Dear Sir,—I am sorry to send you bad news. Your letter reached me too late to act upon it with any hope of success at the Congress. There was only one public ‘séance’ besides the one with clôture. Moreover, nothing was prepared. There should have been printed notices distributed amongst the 1,200 members of the Congress to prepare them beforehand, in order to attract followers of our ideas to the ‘séance,’ &c. There was no time for all this.

“As for me, I was absolutely retained by the jury, where I figured in Section VIII., besides replacing with vice-president, M. de Quatrefages, the president, who was absent from Venice. Until yesterday, I had not a spare moment, and then I had to make my speech. As to the subject in question, I regret exceedingly that there was no opportunity of bringing it before the Congress.—Italy, fond of the sensational and ideal, would have been a fertile soil for it.”

“Sept. 17th.—In a ‘séance’ of Section VII., Count Penazzi (who has lately travelled in the Soudan) had drawn up an order of the day, that the Congress should urge on the European Governments energetic diplomatic action in order to stop the slave-trade, and to give complete emancipation.

“This Section voted favourably on Count Penazzi’s motions, as follows:—

“‘The Central Committee of the Congress after having examined the Order of the Day, sympathises with the resolutions of Section VIII., but does not consider it in order to submit this question to the Congress.’

“Thanks to M. Penazzi this subject has at least not been passed over in silence by the Congress.—Yours very truly,

G. SCHWEINFURTH.

“To C. H. Allen, Esq.’

COUNT LOUIS PENAZZI’S ADDRESS ON THE SLAVE-TRADE.

[Translation.]

Gentlemen,—If I did not believe I was fulfilling a duty—a sacred promise made at the death-bed of one of those men whose names are registered by posterity in the golden book of the benefactor of humanity;

if I did not feel bound to keep a promise which I made to Romolo Gessi Pacha, when he expired in my arms in the French hospital at Suez, I would not indeed have ventured to speak in the presence of the illustrious personages who surround me, and who crush under the weight of their so justly acquired reputation such a humble adept of science as myself. Some days, in fact some hours, before his death, Gessi, who felt his end approaching, adjured me to combat with all my might against the hideous traffic to the abolition of which he had dedicated his life. Relying little on my own individual efforts, I have nevertheless accepted, without reserve, the difficult task he imposed upon me, being certain that I would find strong powerful adherents among you, who, many of you, have been able to judge by personal observation of this plague of slavery which exists now as in the past, and which during my recent travels in Eastern Soudan I found to be on the increase since the provinces of the White Nile ceased to be governed by Gessi, that implacable foe of the Djellabas, the slave-traders, and their accomplices.

It is, unfortunately, a well-established fact, that the treaties are only made to throw dust in the eyes of the people of Cairo and Alexandria. It is possible that in the large cities of Lower Egypt slavery may be nearly abolished, although even there appearances are not to be trusted. The Egyptian Government makes a great parade of having a public office for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, and of its having sent Colonel Sala Bey, a European officer, to Siout to prevent the slave-traders from conveying their merchandise by that route, when everybody knows that for a long time past the slave-traders have given up that route, because it was watched by the Consular agents residing at Khartoum, and have chosen another.

The Denka and the Galla countries are the two regions which have the unfortunate privilege of furnishing the greatest number of slaves for the Arab and Egyptian traders. The gangs coming from Denka descend the Nile, or, skirting its banks nearly as far as Messalamich, there cross the river in order to reach Abou Harish on the Blue Nile, from whence, crossing the plains of Chukries, they pass through Ghidareff and Kassala, and then on to the sea coast.

The gangs from the Galla country make their first halt on Egyptian territory at Metemmeh, from whence they proceed, viâ Doka, towards Ghidareff, keeping as near as

possible to the banks of the Atbara, so as in due time to reach Kassala and then the Red Sea.

I will not cite any particular cases, nor any of the details regarding slavery, for you have travelled in Africa as I have done, and you are therefore perfectly aware of all the horrors occasioned by the slave-trade.

Many a time I would willingly have interfered—and I have done so on more than one occasion—but being alone, without influence, without any semblance of authority, my interference was unhappily abortive, for not only were the local authorities not to be relied on, but instead of assisting me in upholding the treaties, they covertly, if not openly, considered me an object of aversion. It is useless as long as only men are changed to think that slavery will diminish. It is not only the men (the functionaries) that must be changed, but the whole system which governs the country. In my opinion the only way to put an end to a traffic which is repugnant to every honourable mind would be to appoint some European officers, men of principle, and whose devotion to the cause of the abolition of slavery cannot be questioned. One inspector at Messalamich, another at Kassala, and a third exercising his authority over the territories of Gallabat, Abou Harish and Gallabat would suffice, if they were men of energy.

Independent, even of the Governor-General of the Soudan, in everything appertaining to their powers, they would be charged with uprooting the slave-trade, with punishing the slave-traders, and with providing for the liberated slaves, all in accordance with the laws sanctioned by the treaties, in order to arrive at the complete abolition of slavery within the time specified in those treaties.

I believe that the appointment of these inspectors would be the only practical means of checking the slave-trade. Everything depends on the choice of these functionaries, and, thank God, honest men are not so scarce that *that* need form an insurmountable difficulty.

I repeat, gentlemen, that my voice is very feeble, and that I cannot succeed without your assistance. It is to obtain that assistance that I have addressed these few words to you, and that I submit an order of the day, which I beg you to take into consideration, after making such alteration as in your wisdom you may think fit. In voting this order of the day, you will demonstrate

that you have known how to couple the work of humanity with scientific labour, and that you not only seek to procure the happiness of mankind by scientific discoveries, but also its moral as well as its material progress.

In voting this order of the day, you will also assist me in fulfilling a sacred promise, for where the voice of a single individual would fail to reach, the voice of the Third Geographical Congress will command respect, for that voice is but the echo of public opinion interpreted by you, who, by your studies, your high intellect, and profound experience, have acquired the incontestible right of speaking out and energetically.

Here, gentlemen, is the order of the day which I have the honour of proposing:—

“The members of the third group of the International Geographical Congress assembled at Venice, submit to the Central Committee of said Congress their desire that the Congress at its general meeting should urge the governments of all civilised countries to exercise energetic diplomatic action, having for its object the suppression of the slave-trade and the abolition of slavery in the Egyptian provinces, either by the appointment of special European commissioners, or by any other means which they may consider proper.

“(Signed) COUNT LOUIS PENNAZZI.”

Mr. D'Abbadie, president of the Section, and Mr. Serpa-Pinto seconded Count Pennazzi's motion.

Mr. Solleiet, French explorer, supported with energy the motion, but would wish the action to extend to every part of Africa, as well as the Egyptian provinces.

The President having put the Count Pennazzi's Order of the Day to the vote, it was carried unanimously.

BY THE MEMBERS OF THE 8TH GROUP OF THE CONGRESS, SITTING OF 18TH SEPTEMBER.

8th Group.—*Chairman* : Dr. Nachtigal.

Secretary : Professor Peresi.

The Secretary read the minutes of the sitting of 17th September, and the reply of the Central Committee on the subject of Count Pennazzi's motion relating to slavery. The reply is as follows:

"The Central Committee of the third International Geographical Congress expresses and joins its wishes to those expressed by the Eighth Group of the Congress, regarding the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery, but as the order of the day voted by said group has nothing to do with geographical science the Central Committee considers that it should not be laid before the General Meeting of the Congress, and passes to the order of the day."

ABOU-BEKER AND HIS SLAVE-DEALING SONS.

(To the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.)

Sir,—Dr. Dutrieux, the Belgian explorer in Central Africa, sends me the following extract from a letter of one of his Egyptian correspondents. It may be remembered that M. Lucereau, a young French explorer, was murdered in a most cruel manner last October, within five miles of Harar, while under the protection of the Egyptian Government. Statements received by this society tended to implicate Abou-Beker, the most notorious slave-dealer on the Red Sea, in this assassination.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES H. ALLEN,
Secretary, British and Foreign
Anti-Slavery Society.

September 16th.

(Translation.)

(Extract of Letter.)

I hear from an undoubted source that Abou-Beker Pasha has addressed a letter to the Khedive claiming his protection against the Governor of Harar, whom he accuses of intriguing against him and even of threatening his life. I have reason, however, to think that this is only the second act of a comedy got up by these two confrères, who are both steeped in the blood of M. Lucereau. The first act of this comedy was the journey to France and the presentation to M. Grévy of the son of Abou-Beker. Abou-Beker at the same time, has openly claimed the protection of the French Consul-General in Egypt. He pretends to be the victim of the English, and is trying to sow dissension between France and England on anti-slavery grounds. This manoeuvre is, however, too gross for England or France to take any part in it; and we may hope that in regard to the massacre of M. Lucereau, France will send a Special Commissioner to Zeilah to institute an inquiry into the complicity of Abou-Beker. Before grasping the hand of the

son of Abou-Beker, the whole of whose family, according to the last letters of M. Lucereau, are compromised in the capture of slaves, M. Barthélmy St. Hilaire ought to look closely to see if it is not stained with the blood of a French traveller.

LABOUR IN BRITISH GUIANA.

The question of labour—the greatest of questions in the West Indian colonies—has been settled more or less satisfactorily in British Guiana, by the instrumentality of a vigorous immigration system. This has not only supplied numbers, but variety; and the consequence is that, with one nationality to set off against another, not only is there a potential incentive to all to work, but there comes to exist a considerable natural guarantee against riot and labour-troubles of all sorts. Since slavery was abolished, immigration has brought into the colony the following numbers and kinds of labouring people:—East Indians, 100,000; West Indians, 33,000; Portuguese, 30,000; Africans, 14,000; Chinese, 13,000.

With all these advantages—of tillage, of labour, and of invested capital—the planters here have thus been enabled to produce sugar on a system secure against any competition elsewhere.—*The Times*, Sept. 12, 1881.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SLAVE-TRADE ON THE WHITE NILE.

Trieste, September 10th, 1881.

Dear Sir,—E. Marno-Bey has just published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (you will easily find it) a long article entitled "THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SLAVE-TRADE ON THE WHITE NILE," the third part is in the number of the seventh of this month.

(N.B.—Perhaps M. Marno will be good enough to write another article on the "truth about the provinces of the Bahr-Gazelle," after the retreat of Gessi Pacha; this would be no romance.)

I know you would not pass this article over in silence in the *Reporter*, and you would do well to reproduce *in extenso* the passage treating of the expedition of the old Moudir of Fachoda, and I believe that your conclusion on the subject would agree with mine; we believe him, but we are not convinced by his logic.

In spite of the long, interesting, and important details which he gives us, M. Marno does little to make us realise what is passing in those regions, except in the way to which we are already accustomed.

I admit the possibility of the lamented Gessi (who cannot answer for himself, poor fellow, having died too opportunely for certain gentlemen), weakened and worn out by the miseries and fatigues of his last years, having omitted to provide for the embarkation of those people on the Bahr-Gazelle, but who can now give us an explanation of all that, and of the views which guided Gessi?

He must have had his reasons for so acting. As to the accusations launched by Gessi against the Government of the Soudan, the account published by Marno, notwithstanding the personal and geographical inexactitudes which Marno quotes, does not prove that they were not justified. What is the use, for example, of the subtle distinction he draws between Bahr-el-Seraf and the lower Bahr-el-Gebel, the two rivers limiting on each side the territory in question. And how? Marno says, "*there is nothing to devastate but grass*"! Is not burning huts, driving out the inhabitants, carrying off the cattle, etc., the devastation of a country? But besides, there is in Marno's memoir a passage which ought to be strongly contradicted. It is where he says "that it is not the fault of the government of the Soudan, ('how is it responsible?' he asks,) if a governor in the interior abuses his power and the confidence placed in him." Well, that is just so. Why did he risk organising bands of robbers and profiting as a secret participator? Because he knew beforehand that he ran no great danger, and that in Egypt governors meet with no greater punishment than their dismissal. In a place like Fachoda, of such importance, how could they tolerate such a governor? Marno himself complained before that this governor tied his hands, and made his researches and *surveillance* difficult. But for the unexpected appearance of Gessi at Fachoda, the facts quoted by Marno would never have been seriously taken up, and no Giegler Pasha would have set out for Fachoda to investigate affairs.

It is precisely this want of confidence which the inferior Government officials, especially the governors of the distant provinces inspire, to which our reproaches are due.

Let the Government punish them severely, and we shall be content.

This is the truth about "*the truth about the Slave-trade!*"

Yours truly,

G. SCHWEINFURTH.

Agreeably to the suggestion contained in the above letter we procured copies of the German paper containing the letters from Marno Bey. They appear to be principally taken up with the question whether Gessi Pasha took all the necessary precautions to prevent the disasters which happened to himself and his followers on the Bahr Gazelle. As Gessi Pasha has paid with his life the penalty of any imprudence he may have committed as regards the provisioning of his vessel, and is now unable to answer any accusations made by his enemies, or so-called friends, we do not wish to pursue, any further, what must prove a barren discussion. Time will prove whether Raouf Pasha, and his lieutenant Giegler Pasha are as earnest in their endeavours to put down the slave-trade, as the upright but unfortunate Gessi Pasha.—Ed., *Reporter*.

THE RUSSIANS IN CENTRAL ASIA AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

IN our last number we gave an extract from a paper read by Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. Stewart before the Royal Geographical Society, in which he showed how terrible was the state of 100,000 slaves held in captivity by the Turkomans in Central Asia. He also spoke highly of the conduct of the Russians, who had released probably 40,000 of these wretched captives, and had, moreover, done much to destroy the value of this kind of property in those regions. The civilizing effect of the Russian conquests in Central Asia is fully confirmed by the enterprising correspondent of the *Daily News*, so long held a prisoner in Merv. We fully share this writer's contempt for the "Russian scare," so fashionable in England, and we are quite prepared to accept his well-informed opinion that every forward step of the Muscovite in Central Asia has hitherto been favourable to the cause of civilization.

Dr. O'Donovan thus writes to the *Daily News* from Merv, under date 5th June, 1881 :—

There was a time when middle-men purchased captured Persians with a view of selling them at a profit at Bokhara, Samarkand, and Kokand. The splendid civilizing coup of the Russian army in penetrating to and closing the slave markets of Central Asia has put an end to the ephemeral prosperity of the Merv bazaars. If the Russians could only hear the bitter curses levelled against them by the Mervli, not as enemies in the field, but as spoilers of the revenue of Merv, the price of blood, they would congratulate themselves on their deeds here, as I most sincerely do. There are people at home who are apt to view every Russian step in advance with suspicion. For aught I know they may be right. But, up to the present, as far as I have seen in Central Asia, every forward step of the Muscovite has been fraught with immense advantages to the cause of civilization and freedom.

KING M'TESA.

EVENTS IN EAST CENTRAL AFRICA.

By recent despatches from Zanzibar we learn that the enterprising chief Mirambo has returned from a warlike expedition he has made, during the early part of the present year, to the regions north and east of his dominions, in the course of which he is said to have reached the southern shores of Victoria Nyanza. Besides securing the usual plunder in cattle and slaves, for himself and his warriors, he is said to have entered into friendly relations with King M'tesa with a view to opening up a western trade route, the necessary preliminary to which would be the domination of the independent and powerful tribes lying between the territories of the two chiefs. Should the nefarious project succeed, it is expected to have at least the beneficial effect of opening up a safer and a cheaper road, west of Victoria Nyanza, to European travellers. King M'tesa is said to have become for a time more friendly to the English missionaries, since the return of the native envoys from their journey to England and the receipt of the presents from the Queen. The Rev. Mr. O'Flaherty and Mr. Mackay were in Uganda, the former in crossing the lake, had attempted to land at Bambiré Island, the scene of Mr. Stanley's

hostile encounters, but he and his party were received by the natives with a discharge of poisoned arrows. He says "the beautiful and numerous islands of this part of the lake have had their inhabitants all massacred or taken into slavery by M'tesa's forces for having assaulted his men when they wished to land."

Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society.
October, 1881.

THE BOERS AND THE NATIVE RACES.

WE are glad to note the decided tone taken by the Prime Minister in regard to the interests of the native races, which would be imperilled by a refusal of the Volksraad to ratify the Convention lately concluded between the Boer leaders and H. M's. Commissioners.

The *Daily News*, so notorious for its Boer sympathies, thus speaks out on this question, in an Editorial of the 10th October, with every word of which we fully concur.

" 'I hope,' said Mr. Gladstone, in words which will be studied rather than read, 'I hope the Convention will shortly be ratified. But this, I can tell you. As we have not been afraid of reproach at home, as we have not been afraid of calumny in the colonies on account of the over-indulgence which, as was said, we extended to the Boers of the Transvaal, so in what may yet remain to be done we shall recollect and faithfully maintain the interests of the numerous and extended native populations; and we shall not be less faithful to the dignity of this great Empire in the conduct of our future proceedings.' If there be one point in which the honour of the country is directly involved it is the maintenance of freedom for the natives of the Transvaal. To squabble for a small debt would be a paltry policy for the English nation to pursue. To dispute with Mr. Joubert or Mr. Kruger on abstruse points of international law would be slightly ridiculous. To insist upon complete supervision where it is not absolutely needed is inconsistent alike with sound statesmanship and with common sense. How far the Cabinet may think it necessary to insist that Mr. Hudson's powers shall extend, is a matter which the country will contentedly

leave to Ministerial discretion. But to the natives we have contracted obligations which we are bound to fulfil. It is not to be tolerated that the inhabitants of a country once part of the British dominions should ever be handed over to slavery, so long as we are able to prevent it. The Boer leaders may say what they please, and it is not necessary to dispute a good many of their statements. But we cannot and must not now be satisfied with mere assurances. The stipulations against slavery and its more euphonious equivalents which were deliberately inserted in the Convention with the assent of the Boer leaders themselves will have to remain there. More than that, these provisions will have to be obeyed."

Review.

COLONEL GORDON IN CENTRAL AFRICA.*

(Continued from Reporter, p. 143.)

Edited by George Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L.

We insert a few more extracts from Colonel Gordon's private letters, which we feel sure will be full of interest to all who care for the welfare of the natives of Central Africa.

*Moogie (near Lake Albert Nyanza),
December 13th, 1875.*

I am very low. I feel my servant's death. I did not know he was ill till twelve hours before he left this world; not that it is not better for him, than all the misery of this wretched land. God will make it up to him. I am so angry with the Cairo people: they have no idea of the difficulties up here. However, it is all God's will, and I hope I shall be able to bear it.

WHAT HE THOUGHT OF THE LAKES.

Labore, December 22nd.—I have told—that I will not explore the lake. I declare I do not care whether there are two lakes or a million, or whether the Nile has a source or not. I do not care whether there are blacks, or greens, or blues up there.... To be boxed up for a phantasy in a 50 feet long steamer for a fortnight would be my death. I am not paid for explorations. I hope Stanley has done the Lake; if he has not, and will go in the steamer, *when ready*??? I will let him go, if I meet him.

I told the Khedive, in April, 1874, I would not go on the Lake. I have put everything in the way for any other person to do so, and let him have the honour of History. There is no doubt that Higginbotham,* who brought up the steamers, etc., from Cairo to Gondokoro and I have done the work. Others may have the fruit of it, and welcome to it. I am not after nine months of worry, in a fit state to explore anything but my way out of the province.

"WHAT IS MAN THAT THOU ART MINDFUL OF HIM."

We must give up keeping credit lists with God which are not true ones; they are all debtor lists. Do you know that verse, Eph. II. 10, which says that ye are ordained to bring forth good works? If certain good works are ordained to be brought forth by you, why should you glory in them. Do not flatter yourself that you are wanted, that God could not work without you; it is an honour if he employs you. No one is indispensable, either in this world's affairs or in spiritual work; you are a machine, though allowed to feel as if you had the power of action.† When things turn out in a way we do not wish, we quarrel with God if we feel put out. Most difficult is this lesson, and only to be learnt by a continual thought of this world being only a temporary one,—i.e., by continually thinking of death as a release. What calm life a man living thus would live!—What services he would render!—Nothing would move him whether he were soldier, statesman, or what not.

AN UNINVITING COUNTRY.

This is a thorny, unpromising country, with its mosquitoes, and grasses, and jungles, and its peoples. They will never change their habits; no mortal will ever civilise these myriads. They may become sharper by contact with the world, but they will be ever a lazy, unenterprising, happy lot. It is wonderful that, with their numbers, there is no law, and yet so little crime.

* * * * *

What a country this is! The cows of these parts will not live at Fatiko or to the south. Horses all die. Mules and donkeys live. I went out for a walk yesterday afternoon, and picked a sort of fig. I asked the black if it

*See *Ismalia*, Vol. 1., p. 15.—Ed.

† In a later letter, Colonel Gordon says, "When one knows the little one does of oneself, and any one praises you, I, at any rate, have a rising in the gorge, which is a suppressed 'You lie.'!!"—Ed.

was good; he said "yes," and I bit it, and just tasted it. It had an astringent, disagreeable taste, so I spat it out. Soon after came on a violent sore-throat, which nearly prevented my breathing, and this continued all last night. Everything in this land is bitter, or astringent, or thorny, or prickly. The nice, green waving grass has silicious delicate hairs on it like spun-glass, and quite as sharp. Nice-looking turf has a seed like a crow's foot in it. You walk along and think to pluck a tuft of grass, and you get your finger cut to the bone. Everything is tough and strong, and as for plucking a switch, you never can. You must use a knife. It is odd to see how granite becomes disintegrated in these lands. One can easily understand its being so in lands where there is frost; here, there is the same principle at work, viz., unequal expansion and contraction. As in the north, the decrease of temperature causes some parts to be colder and flake away, so the increase of temperature does the same out here. What a difference there is in man! Here the garrison of this place are perfectly happy, content to do the very little work they are called on to do, and desiring nothing else; a sort of life which I can with difficulty endure two days. They certainly sleep three-quarters of their time, and thus a man of sixty years is really only fifteen years of age. . . . I envy Schweinforth's love of botany,* but I expect that when once a district had been well explored in its flora, the same *ennui* would keep his newspapers and make them last him for months. I am never happy till I have finished them. Here is a splendid country for game, and yet there is not even a pigeon to shoot.

DO NOT MIND WHAT THEY SAY.

My dear——why (it is God's will) will you keep caring for what the world says? Try, oh try, to be no longer a slave to it! You can have little idea of the comfort of freedom from it—it is bliss! All this caring for what people will say is from pride. Hoist your flag, and abide by it. In an infinitely

See Schweinforth's "*Heart of Africa*," vol. 1., p. 179.

"In unfailing good health, I passed the first few weeks in a transport of joy, literally enraptured by the unrivalled loveliness of nature." And p. 224.—"In sickness everything is sad, and the craving for home is not to be suppressed; but, whoever, in the robustness of health, can imbibe the fresh animation of the wilderness, will find that it stamps something of its unchanging verdure upon his memory; his imagination will elevate it to a paradise, and the days spent there will enrol themselves among the very happiest of his life."—*Ed.*

short space of time all secret things will be divulged. Therefore, if you are misjudged, why trouble yourself to put yourself right? You have no idea what a deal of trouble it saves you. . . . Roll your burden on Him, and He will make straight your mistakes. He will set you right with those with whom you have set yourself wrong. . . . Here I am, a lump of clay; Thou art the Potter. Mould me as Thou in Thy wisdom wilt. Never mind my cries. Cut my life off—so be it; prolong it, so be it. Just as Thou wilt, but I rely on Thy unchanging guidance during the trial. Oh, the comfort that comes from this!

HIS MISSION IN THESE LANDS.

Residence in these oriental lands, tends after a time, to blunt one's susceptibilities of right and justice, and, therefore, the necessity for men to return at certain periods to their own countries to re-imbibe the notions of the same. Some men become imbued with the notions of injustice much quicker than others when abroad, but——certainly has not taken much time to throw off all the trammels of civilised life, and to be ready to take up the unjust dealings of an Arab Pasha. The varnish of civilised life is very thin, and only superficial. . . . Man does not know what he is capable of in circumstances of this sort; unless he has the lode star, he has no guide, no counsellor in his walk.

I feel that I have a mission here (not taken in its usual sense). The men and officers like my justice, candour, my outbursts of temper, and see that I am not a tyrant. Over two years we have lived intimately together, and they watch me closely. I am glad that they do so. My wish and desire is that all should be as happy as it rests with me to make them, and, though I feel sure that I am unjust sometimes, it is not the rule with me to be so. I care for their marches, for their wants and food, and protect their women and boys if they ill-treat them; and *I do nothing of this—I am a chisel which cuts the wood, the Carpenter directs it.* If I lose my edge, He must sharpen me; if He puts me aside and takes another, it is His own good will. None are indispensable to Him; He will do His work with a straw equally as well. "I am what I am,"—"All in All." The *P's* of the world are naught. How often do the scriptures claim for Him all honour, power, and might; and yet all of us claim honour from our fellow-men! *I*

found the lake; I put the steamer on the lake; I invented this; I invented that; it was *my* idea, &c. It cannot be helped that we do all this. Man would not suffer any change in this respect; but it is an infringement of His attributes. How should I feel if Gessi said, "I put the steamer on the lake?" He would be justified to a certain degree in saying so, for he helped most materially. I do not think I should care a bit now, but in old times it would have annoyed me. I dare say some of my letters have been boastful; but I know that my looking-glass (conscience) has remonstrated whenever I have so written. Some of my letters are written by one nature, others by the other nature; and so it will be to the end. It makes one terribly inconsistent this conflict in some affairs which require a decision both carnal and spiritual. Being in authority, and responsible, action is necessary while mercy should temper justice.

THESE LETTERS ARE NOT TO BE TAKEN AS HIS
FINAL JUDGMENT.

Duffi, *July 10, 1876.*—Thank God I am quite well, and so happy now I have resigned the government of the province, and put all the faults on my "Friend." He is able to bear them, and will use me as long as He pleases as his mouthpiece; and when He has done with me He will put me aside. "Casting all your cares on him, for he careth for you," has just come to my mind. . . . Do not put any confidence in what I may say I will do, for long before you get my letters, circumstances may have altered; my ideas may be changed, and the very reverse of what I said may take place. My letters are my journal and impressions of the moment. I cannot be bound by them.

We hope our readers will bear this well in mind. These letters of Colonel Gordon are the out-pourings of a generous and religious mind—often at a moment when the natural man is goaded by trials and vexations, of which we in England can form no conception. They have never been revised or altered in any way, indeed, they bear the impress of freshness, but perhaps there are a very few that would have been left out, had Colonel Gordon given them a second thought.

LAKE ALBERT NYANZA.

Magungo, *July 28.*—Arrived at the debouch of the Victoria Nile into Lake Albert to-day, after a night spent in the lake, owing to my stupidity. The entrance is masked by a mass of papyrus isles. There is no current at all, and it is a most miserable-looking place. The people are quiet, and well-disposed to us. I saw a herd of elephants to-day feeding quietly, and looking so happy. They pitch grass into their mouths with their trunks, as you would chuck water into your mouth from a basin. What a wilderness this is up here—not a sound to be heard, and so lifeless, and apparently miserable. It is another Mrooli. You can see nothing of the lake for the mass of the isles of papyrus. . . . I propose (and God disposes) to go up from here to Foweira, and then map that part; to go then to Mrooli, and thence to Urundogani and to Cossitza (Ripon Falls); hoist the Egyptian flag there on Victoria Lake, and then map the river from Cossitza to Urundogani, and thence to Mrooli. From Cossitza to Urundogani is forty miles by land, the river not being navigable. From Urundogani to Mrooli it is navigable, and I have done the part between Mrooli and Foweira. Then the Nile will be completed. I then hope to go to Masindi from Foweira, and thence down to get up the other two steamers.

Colonel Gordon, as has been seen, had not intended to return to this part of the country. This summer, however, he had read a paper by Dr. Schweinfurth, in which that traveller said, "It may be that Lake Albert belongs to the Nile basin, but it is not a settled fact, for there are seventy miles between Foweira and Lake Albert never explored, and one is not authorised in making the Nile leave Lake Albert. The question is very doubtful." "It was contended," writes Colonel Gordon, "that the Nile did not flow out of Lake Victoria, and thence through Lake Albert, and so northward, but that one river flowed out of Lake Victoria, and another out of Lake Albert; that these two rivers united and formed the Nile. This statement could not be positively denied, inasmuch as no one had actually gone along the river from Foweira to Magungo. So I went along it with much suffering, and settled the question. I also found that from Foweira, or Karuma Falls, there was a series of rapids to Murchison Falls, thus *by degrees* getting rid of the 1,000 feet difference of level between Foweira and Magungo."

MURCHISON FALLS.

Three miles west of Murchison Falls, *August 5.*—The river has dense forests on each side. It is very sluggish, and, like the Duffli river, its edges are fringed with papyrus. There are few places where you can land. It is not more than two hundred yards wide here. . . . Anfini wanted yesterday to kill all Kaba Rega's *mitangoles* (officers) who came in to swear allegiance but it was not allowed ("And Agag came softly and said, surely the bitterness of death hath passed"). A dead, mournful spot this is, with a heavy damp dew penetrating everywhere. It is as if the angel Azrael had spread his wings over this land. You have little idea of the silence and solitude; I am sure no one whom God did not support, could bear up. It is simply killing. Thank God I am in good health, and am very rarely low, and then only for a short time. There are shoals of crocodiles in the river; you see them swimming about in the still water.

August 6.—I am nearly dead. To map the river for eight or ten miles I have had to walk in pouring rain, through jungle some eighteen miles; but it is done, at any rate, and I am quite sure no one will ever do it again. About five or six miles from the Falls you see a high table-land, covered with trees; below it are hills separated one from the other by terrific ravines, which come down to the Nile. There is a complete jumble of these ravines—it is terrible walking. The table-land is black lava; the lower hills are clay and gravelly deposits. The river is quite navigable up to the foot of the falls. The steamer went up there.

KING M'TESA.

M'tesa has with him an Arab of Zanzibar, who writes English, and who was brought up by the mission there. He writes to me in M'tesa's name—a jumble of bits of prayers, etc., and keeps repeating he is the king of Uganda, etc., and the greatest king in Africa. M'tesa has annexed my soldiers; he has not been annexed himself. . . . My officer says, M'tesa does not execute many people now.

Mrooli, *August 18.*—Have determined not to go to Dubaga, for the following reasons:—(1) They all assure me that there is no chance of M'tesa's attempting to stop the return of the troops. (2) If I went, complications might arise, which would be as

well avoided, for it appears M'tesa's court is as full of etiquette as the Pekin court. (3) It is a long way to toil in the sun for nothing, I send, therefore, ninety men with Nuehr Agha; these, with the hundred and forty now there, are force enough.

I sent you, through——, a memorandum of a visit paid M'tesa by one of my officers. It is very amusing. Among other things, he was desperately alarmed at hearing of your poor brother's arrival at Magungo with the steamer. His faith in either the Mussulman or Christian religion broke down, and he sent for his magicians and had a conference of five hours with them. However, it was not satisfactory, for he then sent for my officer, and protested how he loved me, besetting him with questions about why I came. My opinion of him, formed in 1873, on my arrival is not changed. He is an abib (the Arab name for slave) or native, like all the rest of them, not better and not worse. . . . Half M'tesa's guns are flint-locks. He has no lead, and makes iron bullets. He has five little brass guns, no carriages for them, and no shot.

Imagine a huge hay-stack, that is what these towns are. In the palace-precincts are three or four thousand men, women, and children—imagine their flight. However, I hope it will never happen: D.V., it will never do so while I am here. The moment M'tesa evacuates Dubaga he loses all his power, and would weigh no more than one of his *mitangoles*. . . . The Arabs are angry and annoyed at M'tesa's proclivities to Christianity.

I am curious to know what happens with the Mission, for M'tesa on principle, keeps his visitors on short commons, expressly to make them humble themselves before him, and that, I expect, the Mission will find irksome. As Bismarck said of Arnim, you cannot believe a word he says. The doctor was fed while he was new to M'tesa, and then was dropped, till M'tesa used to get into a panic about me; then he was *fêted* again.

DISAPPOINTMENT AT NOT BEING ABLE TO GO TO LAKE VICTORIA NYANZA.

Mrooli, *August 23.*—After careful study, I have decided on the following course, viz:—when the troops return from Dubago, to move with a hundred of them to Nyamyongo and Urundogani, and to survey the river and country between Mrooli and those places. . . . This bit of the Nile (between Urundogani and the lake) I am forced to

give up. I avoid pushing it, for fear of complications before we are ready for them. You can imagine how I feel about this bit of the Nile, for it is the *only bit* I have not done from Berber upwards to Lake Victoria; but reason says, "Divide and weaken your forces;" and so my personal feelings must be thrown over. I dare say a desire to be out of this country is mixed up with my decision, which will (D.V.) bring me to Khartoum about the middle of October, to Cairo in January, and home about February 5th, having been absent a few days over three years. My present idea is then to lie in bed till eleven every day; in the afternoon, to walk not farther than the docks; and not to undertake those terrible railway journeys, or to get exposed to the questionings of people and their inevitable dinners; in fact, get into a dormant state, and stay there till I am obliged to work. I want oysters for lunch!

THE OTHER LIFE.

The future world must be much more amusing, more enticing, more to be desired than this world—putting aside the absence of sorrow and sin. The future world has been somehow painted to our mind as a place of continuous praise; and, though we may not say it, yet, one cannot help feeling, that, if thus, it would prove monotonous. It cannot be thus. It must be a life of activity, for happiness is dependent on activity; death is cessation of movement; life is all movement.

* * * * *

The "groans" [referring to a passage in one of these letters] on all sides are owing to idleness. If people took in washing, they would not have time to groan. I hate the grumbling idleness of the mass of people at home.

END OF COLONEL GORDON'S FIRST EXPEDITION TO CENTRAL AFRICA.

Khartoum, October 29, 1876.—I see there are English sparrows here; it is quite a pleasure to see them. . . . [These letters are my journal, so do not nail me down to anything I may say that I propose to do.]

Cairo, December 2.—I arrived here to-day at seven in the morning, twenty days from Khartoum. I called on Cherif Pasha, who is Minister for Foreign affairs, and he was very civil; but I do not think he relished telling the Khedive I would not stay in his service. It appears H. H. was quite right in exiling Ismail Sadyk Pasha.

[Colonel Gordon arrived in London on December 24th, 1876. Ed.]

The account of Colonel Gordon's second mission to the Soudan, will be reviewed in our next numbers.

A FOOL'S ERRAND (BY ONE OF THE FOOLS), AND BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW.*

By ALBION W. TOURGEE, LL.D.

JUDGE TOURGEE is well known as one of the best writers of fiction in America, and yet these words can scarcely be called fictitious, for though the names are so, most of the incidents related are the narrative of terrible facts.

The condition of the coloured freedman in the Southern States since the abolition of slavery has been, and even now is a hard one. Fearful stories have reached this country from time to time of the horrors enacted during midnight raids by bands of heartless ruffians, who formed the mysterious body called the Ku-Klux-Klan, and who, under cover of darkness and the concealment of large and hideous masks were wont to enter the dwellings of the negroes who had incurred their displeasure, and drag them off to prison or death. Many of these stories have been denied by Southern partisans, and much odium was incurred by those in this country who assisted in giving them publicity through the press. Making every allowance for exaggeration, and for ill-feeling on both sides, we cannot but feel that the main facts are unfortunately only too true. If they had not been so, such books as those of Judge Turgess could never have been written nor could they have commanded the circulation that has been given them.

Of the *Fool's Errand*, the first of the series, one writer says: "About thirty years ago, Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* aroused the world with indignation over the wrongs of a race, and inaugurated the novel with a purpose. And, now, appears another book, *A Fool's Errand*, by one of the Fools, which has seized upon the popular imagination, and run through edition after edition as fast as it could be printed. It is the marked book of this generation."

Another writes: "If this book does not move men and start the patriotic blood of the nation into warmer flare, then we have mistaken the American people."

Again: "It abounds in sketches not to be matched in the whole range of modern fiction. The authors keen insight into character, gives him a power which never relaxes to the end; while his skill in dialogue and humorous touches add greatly to the charm of the story, which will be read with breathless interest."

*London: SAMPSON LOW & Co., 1881.

We have no space to give even a sketch of these remarkable works. They are absorbingly interesting, and one rises from their perusal full of sympathy for the coloured race, and not altogether without sympathy for the white men who have been degraded by generations of a lawless and unnatural rule over their fellow men.

The BREEDING OF SLAVES FOR MARKET, whilst it made the owner of human stock rich, necessarily brutalized and hardened him—and even if he were considerate and kind, it was mostly from a selfish end. Of the rich slave-owner described in *Bricks without Straw*, whose ruin was brought about by the late war, it is said, "His father had early shown him that no branch of business was, or could be, half so profitable as the breeding of slaves for market. With a well-selected force, *two-thirds of which should be females*, he calculated that with proper care such plantations could be made to pay year by year, an interest of five per cent. on the first cost, and in addition, *double the value of the working force every eight years.*"

It could not be very likely that with such views as these, even those who were considered good masters should be found ready to look upon the freed coloured people, whom they had degraded to the level of horses and oxen, as fellow citizens, entitled to the same political privileges and rights as themselves. The struggle that took place in the adjustment of this difficult social problem is well described in the books under review, and should be carefully studied by all who take the smallest interest in the future of the African races.

We have heard much of the great Exodus of these people to Kansas and other Northern States, and many ask why did they come away from a country where they were at home, a land in which they had been born, and where they had just been freed.

Let us quote the answer given to this question by one of Judge Tourgee's blackmen, and stated by him to be one that was actually made to him by a real character in this terrible exodus.

"I come jest kase a poor man dat hain't got no larnin' is wuss off dardan a cat in hell widout claws; he can't fight ner he can't climb. Joe wukked hard an' been honest ebber since de s'render, an' I hed ter walk an' beg my rations to git h'yer. Dat's de reason why I se come."

For a history not only of a midnight raid by the Ku-Klux-Klan, but of the cruel and vexatious laws that were made in the Southern States to worry and harrass, and make starving beggars of the hated race, we must refer our readers to these remarkable books.

They are intensely interesting and sadly instructive, and should be read by all who wish to know the truth about these things. We fear it will take more than one generation before all these painful differences are adjusted between white and black.

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN THE RED SEA.

From "Our Own Correspondent, *Egyptian Gazette.*"

SPECIAL measures should be taken to watch the caravans coming from Central Africa, many slaves are bought by them; but it is not only in Egypt where a market is found for the slaves; the principal outlet is on the Asiatic coast, and, if Europe really desires to put an end to the traffic, the coasts of the Red Sea should be rigorously guarded. I cannot, however, close my eyes to the fact that great difficulties have to be overcome before the traffic can be suppressed. Even giving credit to Government officials for a desire to carry out their instructions, any dealer can easily export six slaves without its being possible for the Government to stop them; the *modus operandi* is very simple; a so-called merchant calls one his wife, two younger ones his children; his clerk or attendant is similarly equipped, and thus six slaves are quietly shipped off. I know some of this class who make several voyages in the course of the year to Suez and Jeddah; they are provided with passports *en règle*; who is to interfere with them?

Turning to the town of Suakin itself, are you aware that nearly all the manual labour is done by slaves? These slaves are the property of rich men, to whom they bring the fruits of their daily labour. Some of these men own as many as twenty female slaves, who are the watercarriers of our town and have in some cases to bring a dollar every day to their owner, who feeds them on *mais* and milk. In order to make up the amount which their master requires, these women have frequently to resort to means which I do not care further to refer to; so long as their despotic master receives his money he does not trouble himself to enquire how it has been earned.

Obituary Notices.

THE REV. AARON BUZACOTT.

(LATE SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH AND
FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.)

WE regret to announce the death of the REV. AARON BUZACOTT, B.A., which event took place at Lewisham, on the 9th inst.

Mr. Buzacott, who was only in his 53rd year, was well-known to many of our friends from the position which he held as Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society during the years 1875 to 1878. Ill-health occasioned his withdrawal from active service and induced him to try the effect of a long sea voyage. About a year ago, Mr. Buzacott returned from Australia, not materially benefited by the change, and he appears to have been gradually declining.

Mr. Buzacott leaves a widow and a family, chiefly grown up. One of his sons is we believe resident in Sydney.

THE LATE STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

We regret to announce the death of Stephen S. Foster, for many years a zealous co-worker with WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, in the great labour of crushing out the huge slave system of the United States. His earnestness gave him great power over large audiences, and his coolness when facing a mob was marvellous.

The following humorous but vigorous description of this good man is from the pen of James Russell Lowell:—

"Hard by, as calm as summer even,
Smiles the reviled and pelted Stephen,
The unappeasable Boanerges
To all the churches and the clergies;
The grim *savant*, who, to complete
His own peculiar cabinet,
Contrived to label with his kicks,
One from the followers of Elias Hicks,
Who studied mineralogy,
Not with soft book upon the knee,
But learned the properties of stones
By contact sharp of flesh and bones,
And made the *experimentum crucis*

With his own body's vital juices;
A man with caoutchouc endurance,
A perfect gem for life insurance;
A kind of maddened John the Baptist,
To whom the harshest word comes aptest
Who, struck by stone or brick ill-starred,
Hurls back an epithet as hard,
Which deadlier than stone or brick,
Has a propensity to stick.
His oratory is like the scream
Of the iron horse's frenzied steam,
Which warns the world to leave a space
For the black engine's swerveless race."

Books, &c., received.

L'ESPLORATORE. Milan.—All monthly numbers for this year in exchange for "Reporter." Also back numbers containing letters from the late Gessi Pacha.

TREMADOC SERMONS. (See Advertisement).

L'AFRIQUE. Geneva.—October 8th.

UNIVERSITIES' CENTRAL AFRICAN MISSION.
Report for 1880-1.—*Blue Book, Slave-trade Papers*, No. 1. 1881.

ZANZIBAR.

THE Departure of Sir John Kirk, H. B. M.'s Political Agent, from Zanzibar on the 27th August for two years, was the occasion for a considerable demonstration. All classes of the population came to the Consulate to express their kindly feeling; on leaving for the British India steamer the Sultan led him by the hand to his boat, while passing along the jetty, a mark of the greatest distinction and esteem. As the vessel steamed away from the island, salutes were fired from the English, French, and Zanzibar men-of-war in Sir John Kirk's honour. Mr. Joseph Thomson has undertaken a two years' commission under the Sultan to search for coal and other minerals within his dominions, and has taken with him James Chumah, the leader of his caravan, during his former explorations.—*Altered from "The Times."*

"SOME people appear to be always laying down *asphalte* upon the path of life, over which their own and their neighbour's chariot wheels roll smoothly and without noise. Others—and sad to say they are the more numerous—are for ever sprinkling the highway with *sharp stones and gritty pebbles*, causing thereby much noise and endless jarring."

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THE DIVINE HUMANITY.

BY THE

REV. H. N. GRIMLEY, M.A.,

*Senior Curate of St. Nicholas, Brighton, late Professor of Mathematics in the University
College of Wales, and sometime Chaplain of Tremadoc Church.*

"Emphatically living sermons, full of reality and interest."—*Literary Churchman.*

"This volume is one of the most interesting we have ever read."—*Churchman's Shilling Magazine.*

"The most charming volume of pulpit deliverance we have met with for many a day. Full of thought, gentle charity, and spirituality. Scarce a page can be looked into without something suggestive of thought being found. It is not easy to say which of Mr. Grimley's sermons are most suggestive and most beautiful. Perhaps we would award the palm to that on 'The Divineness of Childhood.' Mr. Grimley is a man of large sympathies, and has a speculative, but, at the same time, a deeply reverent mind. We earnestly commend his volume to the clergy."—*Church Times.*

TO THE CLERGY.—The Author, having been often advised to issue a cheaper edition of "Tremadoc Sermons," has pleasure in offering the remaining copies of the Second Edition to Clergymen, at a lower price. He will send, post free, to any Clergyman, a copy of the book, on receipt of 4s. Address—Rev. H. N. GRIMLEY, St. Wilfrid's, Crompton Terrace, Brighton.

LONDON C. KEGAN, PAUL & Co., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

THE SOUDAN.

WITHIN the last few days we have had the pleasure of a long interview with a gentleman lately returned from the Soudan. This gentleman has an intimate knowledge of that country, and has a personal acquaintance with most of the Europeans trading there. He fully confirms a great many of the statements which from time to time we have published relative to the Slave-trade, and to the supineness of the Egyptian officials in suppressing the hideous traffic in human flesh. Some months ago we published an account of the fraudulent manner in which signatures were obtained to an Arabic document which denied the existence of the Slave-trade in the Soudan, but which purported to be an address of welcome to Raouf Pasha on his return to Khartoum!

Many indignant denials of some of the statements put forth by the Anti-Slavery Society have been made by both Egyptian and English Government officials, but in very few cases has the truth of their reports been shaken. It is a noteworthy fact that the challenge repeatedly made by this Society to explain the signing of the fraudulent document above named has never been accepted, and we are now informed by this gentleman that he has himself spoken

to some of the Europeans who signed this paper, and who confessed to him that they had signed it without knowing what it contained! This is only one of the ways in which "*dust is thrown into the eyes of Europe*;" and it is more than ever clear that denials by official personages respecting the Slave-trade must be received with more than the usual allowance of "*grains of salt*."

SLAVE-TRADE CONVENTION WITH TURKEY.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has addressed the following letter to Earl Granville, respecting the Treaty made by the late Government with Turkey in 1880. It may be remembered that at the time of its signature some eighteen months ago, the Society called attention to the Clause relating to the handing over of captured slaves and slave-ships to the jurisdiction of Ottoman Courts, contrary to the system which was maintained with Spain and Portugal establishing MIXED COMMISSIONS the trial of captured slavers. The late official, though long delayed, publication of the Convention with Turkey, now enables the Society to memorialise Her Majesty's Government upon this all-important point. The full text of the Treaty was published in the *Times* of 17th September.

"To the Right Honorable The Earl Granville, K.G., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

"My Lord,

"On a late occasion when your Lordship kindly afforded to the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society the opportunity of expressing their views, they confined themselves to the statement of the facts which show the necessity for the extension of Consular and of other supervision in order to secure the suppression of the Slave-trade in Egypt.

"But as largely affecting the success of such measures, the Committee would call your Lordship's attention to the defective character of the late Convention with Turkey for the suppression of the Slave-trade in Turkish and Egyptian waters. Your Lordship will have noticed that this Treaty contains one provision which renders all the others almost, if not entirely, worthless, viz., that clause by which all slaves and ships which may have been captured are, in the words of the Convention, to be handed over to the proper Ottoman authorities, who shall deal with them under the powers of the Mohammedan law.

"Your Lordship is well aware that the one executive principle which in former years made the Slave-trade Treaties with Spain and Portugal of any effect was, the action of Mixed Commission Courts appointed for the trial of the captured slave-ships, and that without this provision those Treaties would have proved of little value.

"In order to make the Treaty concluded between England and Turkey by the late Government in 1880 in some degree effective, the Committee venture to suggest that the attention of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople should now be called to this subject, with a view to obtaining its amendment by the insertion of a provision for the establishment of Mixed Courts. This Society feel assured that unless this can be done there will continue to be a practical impunity as regards the slave-dhows in the Red Sea, so that the efforts which may be made for the suppression of the Slave-trade in Egypt will be to a large extent neutralized and made ineffective.

"It will scarcely be necessary to point out to your Lordship that the following clause in the Convention, Article V., will probably in a great measure deter captains of British cruisers from making captures that shall be subject to the jurisdiction of Ottoman Courts,

seeing that the class of vessels in which the traffic is carried on have in general nothing sufficiently indicative of their being slavers to lead to a conviction:—

"If the competent Tribunal should decide that the seizure, detention, or prosecution was unjustifiable, the Government of the cruiser making the capture will be liable to pay to the Government of the prize a compensation appropriate to the circumstances of the case."

"On behalf of the Anti-Slavery Committee,

"We are, with much respect,

"JOSEPH COOPER, } *Hon. Secs.*
"EDMUND STURGE, }

"CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

"British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
"7th October, 1881."

NOTE.—No answer has yet been received to the above letter.

SLAVE-TRADE CONVENTION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND TURKEY.

(Reprinted from *The London Gazette*, Number 25011—4497, Friday, September 2nd, 1881.)

At the Court at Holyrood Palace, the 26th day of August, 1881.

Present

The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and Strathearne.

Lord President.

Earl of Rosebery.

Mr. Secretary Childers.

Whereas by an Act passed in the 37th year of Her Majesty's reign, chapter 88, intituled "The Slave-Trade Act 1873," it was, amongst other things, provided that, where any treaty in relation to the Slave-trade is made after the passing of that Act, by or on behalf of Her Majesty with any Foreign State, Her Majesty may, by order in Council, direct that as from such date, not being earlier than the date of the Treaty, as may be specified in the order, such Treaty shall be deemed to be an existing Slave-trade Treaty within the meaning of the Act, and it was further provided that thereupon (as from the said date, or, if no date should be specified, as from the date of such Order) all the provisions of the Act should apply and be construed accordingly.

And whereas on the 25th day of January, 1880, a Treaty or Convention for the suppression of the African Slave-trade was concluded between Her Majesty and His

Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, in the following terms, that is to say:—

“Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, being mutually animated by a sincere desire to co-operate for the extinction of the traffic in African slaves, have resolved to conclude a Convention for the purpose of attaining this object, and with this view have named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

“Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honorable Sir Austen Henry Layard, Her Majesty’s Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Sublime Porte;

And His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, Sawas Pasha, His Majesty’s Minister for Foreign Affairs;

“Who, having communicated to each other their respective full powers found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

“ARTICLE I.

“His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, whilst renewing absolutely the prohibition of the Slave-trade, engages to forbid from henceforward the importation of African slaves into any part of the Ottoman dominions or its dependencies, or their transit through Ottoman territories by sea; and to punish, in the manner provided by Ottoman law, and in conformity with the provisions of the Firman of the year A.H. 1223 (A.D. 1857), any person or persons amenable to Ottoman jurisdiction who may be found engaged, directly or indirectly, in the traffic in African slaves. His Majesty further engages to prohibit the exportation of black slaves from the Ottoman Empire to foreign parts, except when accompanying their masters or mistresses as domestic servants, in which case each slave, man or woman, shall be furnished with a certificate, stating his or her age, and otherwise describing them, and stating the particular capacity in which they accompany their master or mistress; and in the event of their not being furnished with such certificates they shall be set free, and the parties attempting to export them shall be liable to punishment; and all free blacks leaving the Ottoman territories shall, on application to the Ottoman authorities, be furnished with passports certifying that they are free and at liberty to dispose of themselves without restriction or reserve.

“ARTICLE II.

“Any person or persons not being Ottoman subjects, who may be found engaged in the African Slave-traffic, either directly or indirectly, within the Ottoman dominions, or on board Ottoman vessels, shall, together with their accomplices, if any, be handed over for trial according to the laws of the country, with the depositions (*proces verbaux*) drawn up by the Ottoman superior authority of the place where the traffic has been proved; and all other documents of evidence (*‘éléments de conviction’*) handed over by the said authority, and destined to serve as proofs at the trial of the offenders, so far as those laws admit of such proof.

“All African slaves found in the possession of a dealer in slaves shall be liberated and dealt with in conformity with the provisions of Article III. of the present Convention.

“ARTICLE III.

“Taking into consideration the impossibility of sending back to their homes African slaves who may be captured from slave dealers and liberated, without exposing them to the risk of perishing from fatigue or want, or from falling again into slavery, the Ottoman Government engages to adopt adequate measures to insure the freedom of such captured Africans, and to see that they are properly cared for.

“ARTICLE IV.

“His Imperial Majesty engages to pursue as criminals all persons who may be found engaged in the mutilation of, or traffic in children. If such persons are amenable to Ottoman jurisdiction they shall be handed over to the Ottoman Tribunals and punished according to Ottoman law; if they are not amenable to Ottoman jurisdiction, that is to say, if the criminals are not Ottoman subjects and the crime has not been committed on Ottoman territory, then they shall be handed over to the competent Tribunals, to be dealt with according as the law of their country directs, together with the depositions (*proces verbaux*) and other documents or evidence (*‘éléments de conviction’*) as laid down in Article II.

“ARTICLE V.

“With the view to the more effectual suppression of the Traffic in African Slaves in the Red Sea, His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans agrees that British cruisers may visit, search, and, if necessary, detain, in order to hand over to the nearest or most convenient Ottoman Authority or

to the competent authorities according to Article IV, for trial, any Ottoman vessel which may be found engaged in the traffic in African slaves, as well as any Ottoman vessel which may fairly be suspected of being intended for that traffic, or which may have been engaged in it on the voyage during which she has been met with.

"This right of visit and detention may be exercised in the Red Sea, in the Gulf of Aden, on the coast of Arabia, in the Persian Gulf, and on the East Coast of Africa, and in Ottoman maritime waters where no constituted authorities exist; and any vessel which may be detained by a British cruiser under the provisions of this Convention shall, together with her cargo and crew, be handed over for trial to the nearest or most convenient Ottoman authority, or to the competent authorities according to Article IV.

"Should there be good reason for believing that vessels sailing under the Ottoman flag which may be found in Ottoman harbours or waters have African slaves on board for purposes of traffic, or have been employed in the African Slave-traffic during the voyage on which they have been last engaged, such vessels, on being denounced by the Commander or other commissioned officer of a British cruiser, or by a British Consular Officer, shall be immediately searched by the Ottoman authorities, and any slaves who may be found on board shall be released and manumitted, and the vessel, her master, officers, and all persons who shall be proved to have acted in connivance with them, handed over to the competent Ottoman authorities, to be dealt with in accordance with Ottoman laws for the suppression of the Slave-traffic.

"All African slaves captured by a British cruiser on board an Ottoman vessel shall be at the disposal of the Ottoman authorities, or of the nearest authorities in the event of there being no Ottoman authorities in the vicinity, with a view of securing to such slaves their freedom; and the vessel and her cargo shall be handed over for trial to the nearest or most convenient Ottoman authority, or to the competent authorities according to Article IV.

"Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland agrees, on her part, that all vessels navigating under the British flag in the Red Sea, in the Gulf of Aden, on the coast of Arabia, in the Persian Gulf, and on the East Coast of Africa, or in the inland

waters of the Ottoman Empire and its dependencies, which may be found engaged in the traffic in African slaves, or which may fairly be suspected of being intended for that traffic, or which may have been engaged in it on the voyage during which she has been met with, may be visited, seized, and detained by the Ottoman authorities or cruisers; but it is agreed that the vessel and its cargo shall, together with its crew, be handed over to the nearest British authority for trial.

"The captured slaves shall be released by the Ottoman authorities, and shall remain at their disposal.

"If the competent Tribunal should decide that the seizure, detention, or prosecution was unjustifiable, the Government of the cruiser making the capture will be liable to pay to the Government of the prize a compensation appropriate to the circumstances of the case.

"It is expressly and formally understood that none of the foregoing provisions apply to the ships of war of either country, which cannot in any case, nor under any pretext, be searched.

"ARTICLE VI.

"With the view to avoid any undue interference on the part of British cruisers engaged in the suppression of the Slave-trade with Ottoman vessels whose crews may be composed in whole or in part of African slaves, it is hereby agreed that every Ottoman vessel manned wholly or partly by African slaves shall be furnished with papers stating the voyage or employment on which she is engaged, and the number and description of the slaves on board, and any larger number of African slaves found on board than is authorized by the ship's papers shall render the vessel liable to detention and to be sent for adjudication before a competent Tribunal.

"ARTICLE VII.

"His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans engages to take the necessary measures and to issue the necessary orders for giving effect to the present Convention.

"ARTICLE VIII.

"The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Constantinople as soon as possible.

"The present Convention shall come into operation six months after the date of its signature.

"In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

"Done at Constantinople this twenty-fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eighty."

And whereas it is expedient that the said Treaty or Convention should be brought within the operation of "The Slave-trade Act, 1873."

Now therefore, Her Majesty by virtue and in exercise of the powers in this behalf as aforesaid, is pleased, by and with the advice of Her Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, as follows:—

The said Treaty or Convention hereinbefore recited shall, from the said 25th day of January 1880, being the day of the date thereof, be deemed to have been and to be an existing Slave-trade Treaty within the meaning of "The Slave-trade Act 1873."

And the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, the Right Honorable the Earl Granville, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN EGYPT.

ALEXANDRIA, 19th Sept., 1881.

To Chas. H. Allen, Esq.

(Translation.)

Dear Sir,—Recent events at Cairo have severely shaken the basis of Egyptian politics, but we should only look upon them as the military expression of a truly national movement, opposing interference with the administration of the country by Europeans who saddle the budget with higher salaries than those given to the Ministers of their own countries, and aiming at emancipation from all foreign diplomatic pressure, and the expansion of self-government.

With such complications before us, the Anti-Slavery question is naturally lost sight of. Yet, we would do wrong to feel alarmed, for the new Egyptian Ministry is composed of honest men. The head of the cabinet, Cherif Pasha, is a model of honour, rectitude and loyalty. At this moment the general security reposes solely upon the confidence which both Europeans and natives place on the word of an honorable man. A Mussulman, but having only one wife,—

setting forth in his private life the good example which he maintains in public, zealous for the autonomy of his country, yet open to all European ideas, Cherif Pasha deserves the sympathy of all generous minds, and the Anti-Slavery party may confidently expect from him a sincere and loyal solution of the question which interests them. Instead of the subterfuges, deceit, and the evasions of the past, another policy is springing up, a policy open and above board. It is an interesting fact that Cherif Pasha professes, and has always done so, a profound regard for Colonel Gordon, whose merits and rare disinterestedness he highly appreciates. (We may here remark that, if such disinterestedness had more imitators, the moral influence of Europeans would not be at such a low ebb as at present.) You are aware that the Anglo-Egyptian Convention for the suppression of the Slave-trade was concluded when Cherif Pasha was Minister in 1877. That Convention, in several of its clauses, does not meet the requirements of to-day, but its revision in a more liberal sense could not be confided to any one better qualified than its author. I have already pointed out to you the imperfections of that Convention, and you know my views regarding it, viz., that it should be based upon the Egyptian code in which all the penalties enacted against slave-traders and their accomplices ought to be inscribed. The application of these laws being confided to the present tribunals, which are essentially international, called here Mixed Courts or Reformed Courts, in which the European magistrates form the majority, the bona-fide and effectual suppression of the Slave-trade would be thus insured much more so than under the present system. I take it that if the Cabinets of London and Paris really desire this suppression, they have only to direct their delegates to the International Commission for judiciary reforms in Egypt, to demand that the cognizance of all crimes committed by the slave-traders and their accomplices should be entrusted to the Mixed Courts. As regards the way to prevent the capture of and the traffic in slaves in the Soudan, it is true that the Egyptian Government could not do better than to consult the views of a commission composed of such men as Burton, Mason, Moktar-bey, Rhofa, and Schweinfurth, but I think that the Anti-Slavery party should not leave everything to the Government of Egypt. There is one

thing which it must do itself, and should in all justice endeavour to carry out, viz., the formation of a society for the protection of liberated slaves in Egypt. Until now the expense of suppressing the Slave-trade, both in men and money, has been borne by the Egyptian Government. It would be unjust to saddle a Government involved in debt with the further expense of providing for the first wants of liberated slaves. The opponents of Slavery should make it a point of honor to assume this charge by means of subscriptions both in Europe and in Egypt, creating a fund which would be administered by this society, which would not only attend to the material wants of the liberated slaves, but would also see to their education by establishing proper schools for that purpose. We would then have no more such sad spectacles as that referred to in the *Journal d'Egypte*, viz.:—

"At Tantah some natives of the Soudan, recently liberated, thinking no doubt that liberty consists in idleness, have acquired habits which will eventually lead them to thieving and brigandage. The police are watching them, and will arrest them on the first occasion."

You will learn with satisfaction that the Governor of Harar, Nadi Pasha, who has so singularly compromised himself in the matter of Lucereau, has just been summoned to Cairo in order to give an explanation of his conduct.—Accept, &c.,

DR. DUTRIEUX.

A correspondent writes us from Alexandria, 28th September, 1881:—

"In consequence of the insignificant results obtained by the Commission formerly located at Siout, and now at Cairo, for the suppression of the Slave-trade, it is rumoured that the new Ministry intends to transfer the seat of operations of that Commission to the Soudan. If there is a sincere desire to eradicate this evil, it is evident that every effort should be concentrated to do so in the Soudan, and not at Cairo.

"The speedy return to Egypt of the celebrated Captain Burton is announced, and it is very probable that the Egyptian Government will confide to him the general direction of this important service."

NOTE.—We learn from *l'Egypte* of 25th October that Captain Burton is about to start for Axim (Gold Coast), on a mining expedition, and that he will not return to Egypt until the end of next year.—ED. "REPORTER."

THE CRISIS IN EGYPT AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

(To the Editor of the "ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.")

DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure to hand you the enclosed letter received from my friend G. B. Messedaglia, under date Cairo, October 16th, the publication of which in your "REPORTER," will, I think, not only be of interest to your readers, but will also be of service to the Anti-Slavery cause.

Yours faithfully,

SALVATORE ARBIB.

London, November 1, 1881.

[Translated from the Italian.]

CAIRO, 16th October, 1881.

Dear Arbib,—Some days ago I received your letter of 27th ultimo, which I was unable to answer at once as I had wished.

The downfall of the Riaz Ministry has changed the usual course of things so as to give all classes a certain share of comparative relief, and I have been only too glad to avail myself of its beneficial effects, by attending exclusively to my own affairs.

Above all, I rejoice to learn that you are well, and always disposed to war in favour of that righteous cause which all men of courage should uphold. Many a time I have wished to raise my voice in order to draw the attention of Europe to that neglected class which is called the Negro race, but a feeling of delicacy which you can readily understand has obliged me to keep silent regarding the inextricable confusion which the late Ministry has created upon this most important question, neither should I have thought of doing so now, for to what purpose is it to accuse the dead? At your request I willingly do so, persuaded that the errors of the late Ministry will serve as a warning to the present one, and because I am sure also that by your instrumentality this unfortunate class will derive some advantage. I shall be guided by facts, and shall be as brief as the subject will allow. In March and April, 1879, His Excellency Gordon Pasha was dealing, from Schiaccia, the finishing blow to the Slave-trade. The

Gellabas who had been able to escape from the pursuit of Gessi Pasha in the Bahr. Gazal were hurrying towards the north with numerous caravans, for which they managed only by sheer force to clear the way. Gebel Nuba, Schiaccia, and Dara were the only outlets by which these caravans could be re-organised and supplied with the necessities to continue their journey. Gordon Pasha had caused the first outlet to be occupied by the Arabs of the Resegat and Habbanieh tribes. He himself held the second outlet. I was at Dara, and not a single caravan has been able to avoid that rigid surveillance. But, if it was an easy matter to capture the caravans, it was not equally so to provide efficiently for the future of the liberated slaves, because it happened frequently that, in the caravans, slaves were found who had obtained their liberty only a few days before through care of the Government!*

In concert with Gordon Pasha, I was then deputed to colonize the country, and for such a purpose the liberated slaves served most opportunely, it being the best way to keep them under the immediate surveillance of the Government, by making them build villages in the proximity of the Mudirieh themselves. To this end, the Government granted each person the necessary quantity of ground to cultivate grain crops, and gave him ten tob to establish himself and get seed, besides six tob during each of the four or five months following, that is to say, until crop time, so as to provide for his first wants.

Thus, taking the lowest estimate, the Government will expend forty tob for each person, which at Dar-Fur is equivalent to 20 talleri, but which costs the Government only 144 piastres, that is, not quite 8 talleri; and, in return, the colonists will pay during five years to Government the fifth part of their produce, after which period they will pay the ordinary tax of one-tenth. In this way the Government will recoup in two years the amount disbursed, and will secure a not indifferent revenue, not to mention the

* J. V. Crawford, Esq., who kindly translated this letter, makes the following extremely pertinent note upon this:—"I take it to mean that the slave-traders in connivance with the Government supplied themselves with 'free papers' for a given number of slaves, the date to be filled in at any time in case of capture." A very shrewd trick! The passage, to be rendered perfectly clear,, may be altered as follows:—"Slaves were found with free papers, which had been supplied by the Government as a ruse in order to prevent them from being seized."

benefit the country will have derived both in an economical and a sanitary sense.*

Two villages in the neighbourhood of Fashcer, and four in that of Dara, each with about 300 inhabitants between men and women, were constructed on this plan.

After Gordon Pasha's departure, Giegler and Hassan Pasha, who assumed the government, set about with all their might to attack this system, and not only endeavoured to stop the payment of the quota assigned to the liberated slaves, but ordered all the Mudirs to hand over the slaves to the officers and employes in payment of their salaries, which was equivalent to saying that the Government of the Soudan reserved to itself the entire monopoly of that abominable traffic. When I heard of this order, my indignation reached its height. I ordered the Mudirs who were under me to let things stand as they had been established by Gordon Pasha, and I sent the Government at Khartoum a protest, declaring to Giegler and Hassan Pasha that I repelled the idea of making myself their accomplice, and that, if present, I would not allow the consummation of such a crime. As I have already said, orders had been issued to all the Mudirs, and at Obeid, for example, Aly Bey Scherif will pay his officers with *man-money* (human flesh), and the poor victims will be sold in the market. It cannot be asserted that the system was not known to and approved of by the late Ministry, for immediately on arriving at Cairo, I myself called on Riaz Pasha, and acquainted him with the facts, Riaz answering me that the Government was free to act as it thought proper for the good of the administration and the state. Shortly after, the *Moniteur Egyptien* published a letter from Giegler Pasha, in which Giegler himself pretended that I was the person solely responsible for the scandalous deeds committed in August of that year. I answered that letter immediately, accepting the responsibility,

* *Note by Translator.*

144 piastres are about	...	...	...	...	8 talleri.
40 tobs at Dar-Fur are about	...	...	...	...	20 talleri.
therefore—					

before—
1 taller is about 18piastres
1 tob " " 9 piastres
1 Egyptian piastre is about 2d of our money.

So that Gordon's plan of colonizing the country with liberated slaves would cost, according to Messedaglia's letter, 30/- per head, as the outlay to be so amply and so speedily recouped.

These 40 tobacces represent at Dar-Fur 20 talleri, or £3 15s. I have no table of Egyptian money, but I have extracted the above calculation from Messdaglia's figures.

and declaring that I was ready to stand the consequences, whatever they might be, if, upon enquiry, my conduct was found to be censurable. But this enquiry the late Ministry was not pleased to institute, because then the truth would have leaked out, and men of the stamp of Raouf, Giegler, and Hassan Pashas prefer complete obscurity to that. Besides, Gordon's plan, under which the object was attained without noise, could not please either these men or the gang of speculators who, under different names, besides officers, had become partners in the monopoly.

These creatures, expelled by Gordon, were reinstated by the late Ministry and by Giegler, and Giegler has accepted the accusations which these traffickers in human flesh have made against Gordon, Gessi and Messedaglia. I consider it a duty to name these persons because the world has the right to know who they are: viz., the four brothers, Imman-el Khabir *alias* Mohammed Pasha, Hamzi Bey, Mohammed el-Nur-bey, Hakmet-bey—who have the entire monopoly of Darfour,—Elias Pasini, and Aledo Rahman-bey, he of Cordofan. All the other Gallabas are dependents of these six assassins-in-chief.

With the expedition of Count della Sala, the late Ministry and Geigler have attained their object, which was to make a great stir in order to silence the Press of Europe, but nothing more.

* * * * *

Independently of all this, you are well aware that, at Khartoum especially, slaves are sold in the public market-place, and under Giegler's eyes, he receiving his share of the profits. At Cairo this commerce is still carried on with the greatest facility. I could cite many facts in proof of my assertions, but abstain from doing so, feeling persuaded that those enumerated are sufficient to establish the true condition of the important question of Slavery. I leave this part of it, therefore, in order to treat of that equally important part, viz.: what, according to my opinion, is the most efficacious way of putting down the Slave-trade under the present conditions of Egypt?

It is notorious that the harem is the most inveterate mainstay of Slavery; and so long as it exists and remains inaccessible to justice and beyond surveillance, Slavery will continue what it is in all its hideousness. In the Soudan things are not exactly so, but as

it is one of the principal sources which feed this commerce, it is there that the Slave-trade should be rooted out so as to cut off the supply here. When the authorities in the Soudan do their duty, and when they cease to be guided by such unprincipled persons as Giegler, it will be impossible for the caravans to pass through the heart of the country without falling into the hands of the Government. If they *do* pass, it is owing to connivance between the Government officers and the Gallabas, otherwise they are obliged to follow roads running through the hearts of forests, opened expressly for this traffic; they have their wells and their camping places at certain intervals; the transit is, however, very long and disastrous, and causes them the loss of a great many slaves. By filling up these wells, which, as I have said, are of no use but to the Slave caravans, either the caravans could not pass for want of water, or they would be obliged to have recourse to the villages. In this case, a vigorous system of surveillance, backed by an adequate force, in these unfrequented places, would suffice. This result could undoubtedly be obtained at half the cost of Della Sala's expedition. Another infallible system would be to erect telegraphs throughout the Soudan, and to colonize the country, but this method is too expensive and tardy; therefore I return to my first one, which in due time, or rather when the occasion presents itself, I will explain more fully.

Yours,

G. B. MESSEDAGLIA,
Ex-Governor-General of Darfour.

O "ABOLICIONISTA."

WE have received the *Abolicionista* of 28th of September—a date which will be always greeted with grateful remembrance by the friends of humanity and progress, as being the anniversary of the passing of the Act for the gradual abolition of Slavery in Brazil. Ten years have elapsed since that memorable law was enacted, and we would remind our readers that it was passed through the strenuous efforts of the VISCOUNT RIO BRANCO, S. VICENTE, NABUCO TORRES HOMEM, SOUZA FRANCO, and JEQUITINHONHA, whose names will be

handed down to posterity as illustrious benefactors of their country.

We rejoice to observe that the labours of the Brazilian Anti-slavery Society are producing the happiest results throughout the empire, and that the manumission of slaves is becoming every day more frequent. As an instance, the *Jornal do Recife* publishes the case of Senhor Sebastian Accioly Lins, who, on the 8th September last, liberated all his slaves, twenty-three in number, in addition to eleven previously set free.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE AT THE SOCIAL SCIENCE CONGRESS.

Section—Jurisprudence.—International Law.

At the late Congress of the Social Science Association, held in Dublin, a paper was read by Professor SHELDON AMOS on "What are the Limits of the Right of Intervention for the Suppression of Slavery and the Slave-trade?" In the ordinary text-books of International Law, it is stated that one of the grounds for legitimate intervention in the internal affairs of an independent State is that of consideration of the claims of "humanity." But this proposition is rather founded upon the need for explaining or justifying special acts of intervention in recent times, than announced as an abstract truth of universal validity. The usual instances cited in illustration of the exercise of the alleged right are supplied by the joint interference of France and England in the case of the gross misgovernment and attendant insurrection in parts of the Turkish dominions, such as Syria, Crete, and Greece. Illustrations of the same doctrine are usually also cited from the assumed claims of civilised States to make treaties with each other for the prevention of the Slave-trade, even as carried on by other States than themselves, and to punish those found concerned in it on the high seas as guilty of piracy by the law of nations.

In commenting on reasoning of this sort, it is to be noticed that the term "humanity" is loose and vague in the extreme, and might be made to mean any sort of sentiment of an ostentatiously benevolent kind which governed the action of any two or more States

strong enough to give effect to it, and under cloak of which they could achieve any diplomatic object they had in common.

Furthermore, if "humanity," as here used, really means a disinterested antipathy to gross outrages inflicted on a helpless population, then it is true that the kinds and limits of outrage which can alone justify intervention assume different proportions according to the prevalent moral and political sentiments to which appeal is made. Little more than one hundred and fifty years ago, dealings in the Slave-trade were regarded, even by British merchants of the highest repute, as equally honorable with any other commercial transaction. Even at the time of the abolition of Slavery in the British colonies, a broad distinction was drawn between the iniquity of holding slaves and that of recruiting the Slave-market by obtaining fresh supplies of them. After the abolition of Slavery in North America, public sentiment received a fresh impulse in the direction of condemning Slavery itself, as well as the Slave-trade, always and everywhere. The still hesitating attitude of the public is witnessed by the uncertain notes which the President of the United States has, in Messages to Congress, given from time to time in reference to the possibility of intervention in Cuba for the ostensible purpose of putting an end to Slavery there, and also in the effectual resistance of the English people to the attempt recently made by the British Government, by its notorious Slave Circulars, to co-operate with Slave-holders in Slave-ports visited by British ships-of-war.

Political causes, such as the diffusion of education and the progress of constitutional government, have, within the last few years, conspired to elevate to an unprecedented pitch the claims of personal freedom. These claims are now assuming a far more distinct and practical shape than they bore in the celebrated assertion of the Declaration of Independence that all "men were born free." In bringing the application of such doctrines within the realm of politics, much embarrassment is encountered by the necessity of paying regard to the different stages of advancement in which States within the region of diplomatic action are found, and the various conditions of Slavery, passing through the grades of all but voluntary domestic service, forced labour, life-long mental as well as physical bondage, and mere

villanage or serfdom, which are found to prevail in those States.

Nevertheless, the difficulties of a problem are no reasons for abandoning its solution. The question here is not whether there is a right or duty of intervention for the suppression of all sorts of Slavery everywhere, but whether there is a right, with a corresponding duty, of intervention for the suppression of some sorts of Slavery in places which seem pre-eminently to call for it. At the present moment the moral sentiment of all the most civilised States of the world, as they may be called, is undoubtedly condemnatory of Slavery and the Slave-trade, understanding by Slavery, at the least, the life-long enforced subservience of one person to the arbitrary will of another. It may be concluded, then, that if a right of intervention exists on behalf of vindicating outraged "humanity," it exists for the purpose of abolishing the institution of Slavery, and *a fortiori* the Slave-trade. Of course the degree, kind, and time of intervention belong to the region of diplomacy in politics, and only in a correlated manner to that of law and ethics.

But, within the last few years, the abstract doctrine relating to the right of intervention of State with State has been undergoing no small modification. In the face of such facts as the recent settlements by outside Powers of various provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and the number of subsisting treaties by which the smaller States of Europe are protected, neutralized, or restricted in their free action, it is impossible any longer to predicate independence as an essential characteristic of a State. It is no more possible to do so than it is, in the case of the private citizen, to confound the notion of personal and political freedom with exemption from the claims of law, or from obligations to the Government. There is no doubt that the tendency of things is towards the re-production, in a new form, of the intricate network of relationship between State and State which the doctrine of the Balance of Power and the personal connections of sovereigns once generated among the States recently risen out of feudalism and the crumbling framework of the Holy Roman Empire. It seems likely that the question will be, not whether intervention is permissible here and there, but whether it can be excluded anywhere. As

international association increases, an urgent demand will discover itself, not, indeed, for the assimilation of institutions, but for the proscription of all institutions which render association impossible. Among these institutions, shortly to be proscribed, Slavery holds a prominent place. Not only is it impossible that the precautions for maintaining the institution can exist side by side with a free and untrammelled commerce, but the domestic cruelty it involves in its very nature, and the abnegation of the most precious human rights on which it can be alone based, must diffuse a vicious taint which no neighbouring country, itself guiltless in the matter, will endure. The resistance to Egyptian Slavery and to the Abyssinian Slave-trade—though that resistance has its foundation in genuine humanitarian feeling—is undoubtedly deriving strong political support from the apprehension that the best interests of England and France in Egypt are incompatible with the continued existence of an institution fatal to Egyptian progress and to Egyptian concert with Europeans.

It may, then, be laid down that two movements are now taking place towards one and the same point—that of the extension of the legitimate grounds of intervention to the object of suppressing Slavery as well as the Slave-trade. Slavery is felt, as never before, to be inconsistent with the due regard to the primary and paramount claims of society and of mankind. The right of intervention is recognised as an ordinary and common right, needing nothing else to justify its use than the persistent patronage of institutions incompatible with social intercourse between State and State.

It happens, indeed, that at the present moment the controversy as to the limits of intervention is mainly of importance because of the recently aggravated increase of the Slave-traffic in Egypt, coupled with the proved impotency of the native Government to suppress it, and because of the peculiar relations of the Western European Powers with the Egyptian Government. So far as Egypt is concerned, it might be sufficient to allege that, seeing that England and France, not to say Germany and other Powers, have never scrupled to intervene so often as any monetary interest was at stake, it is going a very little way further to justify special intervention on behalf of vast populations in Central Africa, robbed, abused, mutilated, massacred, and, in some cases, exterminated,

through the weakness and inefficiency of the Egyptian Government.

England and France, with other Powers at their back, have established a permanent and effectively-working system of control of the Egyptian Government. They have made, paid for, administered, and maintained in working order, the Suez Canal. They have, as soon as ever the interests of their own subjects suggested it, removed the diadem from the brow of one king and placed it on that of another. By the creation of the Mixed International Tribunals, they have, again in the interests of their own subjects, called into being the most startling of innovations upon the well-established doctrines of international right. They have, furthermore, through the direct instrumentality of England and the Egyptian Prime Minister, Cherif Pasha, made a special treaty for the suppression of the Slave-trade, and the gradual abolition of Slavery itself. In view of such facts as these, the limits of the right of intervention can hardly be described, because they vanish into the infinite distance. The evidence of Captain Burton, in his letter to the British Government, on February 7th of the present year; that of Colonel Gordon, at the close of last year; as well as the Reports of Professor Robertson Smith, and of Mr. John Scott, the British member of the International Court of Appeal, which can be read in any of the ordinary organs of information on this subject, all point to one and the same conclusion—that Egypt is by itself impotent to carry out the provisions of her own treaty with England for the suppression of Slavery and the Slave-trade; that, in fact, it has not been carried out, and matters are vastly worse now than they were when the treaty was signed, in August, 1877; and that only direct intervention on the part of the Western Powers of exactly the same kind as that already resorted to for purely financial purposes can arrest the brutal sacrifice of, and the incessant drain upon, innocent populations in the valley of the Nile.

We cordially endorse the views so ably put forth by Professor Sheldon Amos in the above paper, for it is rarely that so much solid matter is condensed into so short a space. We commend to special notice the clause relating to the ready intervention of Europe in

Egyptian affairs when the pockets of the bond-holders are endangered, as it fully confirms, from a legal point of view, the statement put forth in March last by the Anti-Slavery Society, in their memorial to the Prime Minister, viz.: "If Europe may supersede one of the primary rights of self-government in Egypt on behalf of her bond-holders, it is not too much to say that she has a far stronger right to interfere on behalf of the claims of humanity, and to arrest that stupendous evil, (*viz.: the Slave-trade*), which is a chronic violation of 'the law of nature and of nations.'"—

SLAVE-TRADE PAPERS.

No. 1.—1881.*

The Slave-trade Papers, so long promised to be laid before Parliament, and which even now do not reach to the end of last year, have at length been published.

From these papers we shall make extracts, from time to time, as we find space, for there is a mass of matter in this bulky volume that must be of great value to all who feel any interest in the Anti-Slavery cause.

BRAZIL.

The public interest lately manifested on the occasion of the visit to Europe of Senhor NABUCO, led us at once to turn to the dispatches, with their enclosures, received from the British Minister, Mr. Ford, and also from Mr. Ricketts, Her Majesty's Consul at Rio de Janeiro.

In these enclosures are found the speech of the United States Minister (Mr. Hilliard), at a banquet given to him by the Anti-Slavery Society of Brazil. The noble sentiments contained in this speech, and in his letter to Senhor Nabuco, in acknowledgment of

* London—Harrison & Sons. Price 7/-.

the manifesto of the *Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society*, must find an echo in the breast of every true Englishman, and it is with a feeling of humiliation that we note the tone of covert censure on Mr. Hilliard that is conveyed in the letter of the British Minister to Earl Granville in reference thereto. Now, we hold that the United States Minister was strictly within the sphere of his duty in offering on that appropriate occasion his friendly advice, founded on the political and social experience of his country, to the Brazilian Government and people, even at the risk of offending a junta of slave-owners.

But whatever may be said against the exercise of these free opinions by an American Minister, in no degree can apply to the representative of England. As we have often asserted, without contradiction, nine-tenths of the slave population of Cuba are, if not themselves the offspring of slaves, feloniously imported in violation of the treaties with England. This, it is perfectly well known, is largely—if not equally—the case in Brazil; and as a consequence, there devolves on any British Minister, not merely the right but the duty of pressing for the acceleration of a process of emancipation, which, as Mr. Ford truly points out, will require half a century for its full completion.

We cannot but contrast the *laissez faire* tone of Mr. Ford, with so much that we read in this volume of a real and a vital antagonism to Slavery in the diplomatic and consular correspondence of Her Majesty's representatives in the Eastern World.

Had some portion of the same spirit been ever present with Her Majesty's Ministers in Brazil, we should not have had so long to witness the scandal of Englishmen holding slaves in Brazil, or of an English Mail Com-

pany becoming the carriers for an internal Slave-trade between the northern and southern provinces of that Empire.

When we remember that more than three million pounds sterling* were paid in 1815, 1820, and 1821 to Portugal as a compensation for such losses as were assumed to arise from renouncing the Slave-trade to Brazil, and that the greater part of its slave population owes its present existence to the long and continuous violation of this compact, we must emphatically repeat that Slavery in Brazil is not merely a "domestic" question, but is one which England, in virtue of the most solemn treaties, is bound to press on the Government of Brazil for its early abolition.

From Mr. Hilliard's speech we make the following short abstracts, regretting only that we have not space to quote more fully from his eloquent address:—

"Such a course makes one amenable to a moral law too powerful to be resisted. It is the beautiful expression of Hooker, that 'Law has her seat in the bosom of God, and her voice is the harmony of the universe.' That law is irresistible in its force: there can be no harmony in the universe until right prevails everywhere.

"Look to history. The nations in their march have shed a broad light upon the track of human progress. The mighty monarchies of the East have perished. The proud structures all over the world that dominated over human right, have gone down. Modern nations have sprung up: the principles of liberty have asserted their force: absolute power cannot lift its sceptre in the light of the closing splendour of the nineteenth century. Public opinion governs the world; it is impossible to resist it: it is making its power felt in all nations; it is more powerful than any Government on the globe; its authority surpasses the fabled strength of Olympian Jove. It follows the sun in its course and visits with its transforming power all places under the whole heavens. It will accomplish the enfranchisement of the whole human race."

* I am profoundly grateful, gentlemen, for this mark of your appreciation of the sentiments expressed in my recent letter. The opinions given with frankness upon a great question affecting the destiny of our race and the interests of civilization, will stand the test of time, and I feel myself honored in being able to contribute any-

* Report on Slave-trade Treaties, 1853.

thing towards the advancement of a cause which proposes to accomplish so much good for this great and interesting country. Of course I could not intervene in the affairs of Brazil if I desired to do so: I entertain no such purpose. I state the results of my observation of the substitution of free for slave labour in my own country, and I trust to a generous construction of the spirit in which I have treated a great question which enlists the sympathy of the whole civilized world."

BELGIUM.

There are several interesting official letters in the above volume relating to the Belgian Exploring Expedition, and to the reception accorded to the tame elephants forwarded to Africa by His Majesty, the King of the Belgians, by which "*more had been done for the establishment of Europeans in Africa than could have been effected by the spending of many thousands of pounds sterling.*"

Some of the effects were quite comical. For instance: where we read that "Nyoungou, the murderer of Mr. Penrose, had hidden himself and all his band in the forests, *because he heard that a European, accompanied by several elephants, carrying cannon (NORTON'S PUMPS!)* was advancing to avenge the death of Mr. Penrose." Again, Mr. Carter writes, "The negroes declare that the following little scene is enacted every morning between me and my elephants whilst I am loading them. The elephant lies down and says "My lord, I am ready!" Then the lord lays upon him 20 frasilahs (1200lbs.), and says to the elephant, 'Is that enough, master?' 'No, my lord,' he replies, 'lay on more!' The lord loads him up to 25 frasilahs, and repeats the question, to which the elephant makes the same reply. This goes on until 35 frasilahs, or about an English ton, are placed upon him, when the docile creature says 'That is very good, my lord,' and walks off as though he had nothing whatever upon his back."

It is sad to think that not only are these sagacious elephants now dead, but

that Mr. Carter has himself been murdered (*vide* "REPORTER," November 8, 1880, page 121).

We trust, however, that the experiment of using trained AFRICAN elephants will yet be tried, and that it will be found successful.

THE SEYCHELLES ISLANDS.

THIS little known dependency of Great Britain consists of a group of small islands, eighty in number, which spread over an expanse of more than 600 miles.

They are situated nearly a thousand miles to the N.E. of Mauritius, in latitude from 3 to 5 degrees South. The climate is warm but healthy, especially during the prevalence of the cool dry S.E. Trade wind, which blows from April to October, whilst the annual rainfall is about 96 inches, and, being free from all malaria, there could be no more suitable station for a Sanatorium for East Africa.

The principal island is Mahé, with a population of 11,000, of whom one thousand are Europeans, or of European descent, whilst the other 10,000 are mostly of African origin, there being but few Indians in Seychelles.

The revenue of these islands is about £15,000, and the expenditure about £13,000; so that they may be said to set an excellent example to many larger communities of the civilised world.

The present Government consists of a Chief Civil Commissioner and a Board of Commissioners; of this board two members are official and three are unofficial. These unofficial members are nominated by the Chief Civil Commissioner, but have to be approved of by the Mauritius Government, of which the Seychelles is a dependency. As a dependency to the Mauritius, all acts or regulations have to be referred from Seychelles to Mauritius, 960 miles distant. As there is only a

monthly mail, one month must elapse before an answer can be given; and should the question be one which the Mauritius Government have to refer to the Imperial Government, then four months must elapse—even if the letters were answered by return of post.

The interests of Seychelles are completely separated from those of the Mauritius. The latter contributes nothing to the Seychelles, and but few of the Governors of the Mauritius even have visited it.

The following notes respecting the capabilities of the Seychelles, and extracted from the official printed report, will, we think, be found of interest, especially as regards the introduction of

LIBERIAN COFFEE.

"If complete success has attended the propagation of these plants (alluding to some others), it has been eclipsed by the marvellous results attending the experiments made with Liberian coffee by another gentleman in this island.

"Being much interested in the successful cultivation of this tree, of which so much mention has been made of late in Ceylon and Mauritius, I visited Mr. Cauvin's estate, which is at about two miles distant from the town of Victoria, and I may confess that the results of my visits exceeded my most sanguine expectations.

"Mr. Cauvin obtained forty-two plants of Liberian coffee, which were sent from Mauritius in December, 1878, and planted them in that month. The trees are, therefore, exactly 30 months old. There is not one under 8 feet in height, and some of them are over 10 feet. They had just finished blossoming, and were thickly covered with the embryo fruit when I visited the property.

"On some trees the berries were rapidly approaching maturity, and they were more than twice the size of the ordinary plantation berry.

"I forward by this mail some of the berries, which I have the honour to request may be transmitted with the least possible delay to the director of the Botanical Gardens, as well as photographs of two of the trees.

"Nothing could exceed the vigorous, healthy, clean appearance of these trees, and the question as to the adaptability of the Liberian coffee tree to the climate and soil of Mahé is now beyond the region of doubt.

"Whilst writing on the subject of Liberian coffee, I may mention that ordinary coffee grows here remarkably well: 70 acres are in cultivation; the quality is very fine, and its flavour is excellent."

THE LABOUR QUESTION AND LIBERATED SLAVES.

"There remains but one subject more to which I desire to allude in connection with the agricultural development of these islands, and that is the labour question.

"From experience, it has been ascertained that the African labourer is better adapted to the cultivation of the soil in this country than any other, and, as you are aware, the liberated Africans brought here by H.M. cruisers up to 1874 have hitherto supplied the labour market.

"The condition of these liberated Africans and their treatment here is now perfectly satisfactory, and Captain Foot, of H.M.S. *Ruby*, who visited this place last month, after an interval of six years, informed me that he was quite prepared to recommend that any slave dhows captured in these seas should be brought to Seychelles, and that he himself would have no hesitation in now bringing captured slaves here, to be set free.

"Captain Foot's testimony to this fact is very valuable, for not only does he possess great experience in these matters, but also an intimate knowledge of the various tribes of Africans amongst whom the Slave-trade is still rife.

"He took great pains during his residence of five weeks here to ascertain for himself the condition and treatment of the liberated Africans, and he informed me that the result was perfectly satisfactory; and expressed to me his perfect satisfaction with the manner in which they were treated on estates.

"But placing on one side altogether the question of the fresh introduction of liberated Africans, I may state that Zanzibar can supply the future wants of these islands as regards labour, to say nothing of the large surplus Indian population in Mauritius, who might, no doubt, be attracted here.

"At present the labour market is abundantly supplied.

"Liberian coffee is likely to take the lead, and it will grow well on every part of these

islands, whether the land has been planted with the cocoanut trees or not—sandy beaches of a saline nature, perhaps, excepted. Cocoa will thrive best in the sheltered fertile valleys in the interior of Mahé, Silhouette, Praslin, La Digue, etc.

"Care must be taken not to introduce plants nor seeds, etc., of the Liberian coffee, nor of any other thing from Ceylon, for fear of introducing the coffee leaf fungus, which has been so disastrous to the coffee plants in that country, Southern India, Singapore, Java, etc. This fungus was introduced to Figi with coffee sent from Ceylon."

COLONEL GORDON AND THE MOHAMMEDAN RELIGION.

"WHEN the Egyptians seized the country they took the mosque here for a powder-magazine. I had it cleared out and restored for worship, and endowed the priests and the crier, and had a great ceremony at the opening of it. This is a great *coup*. They blessed me and cursed Sebehr Pasha, who took the mosque from them. To me it appears that the Mussulman worships God as well as I do, and is as acceptable, if sincere, as any Christian. What caused the lot to fall on those who occupy the "Hill," to be born in Christian lands, while others are born in Mussulman lands?"

* * * * *

"Now, this strong feeling and attachment of Mussulmans to their religion, is it to be considered as uncontrolled by God? There are many millions of this creed. Does He still *wink* at it? You know Mahomet claimed only a Divine mission; he did not claim divinity. He does not deny that our Saviour had a divine mission, but he denies His divinity. I do not see the sect of Pharisees among the Mussulmans. Whatever they may think, they never assume, as our Pharisees do, that A. and B. are doomed to be burnt, and you never see the very unamiable features which are shown by our Pharisees."— *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa.*

In reference to the restoring of broken-down mosques by Colonel Gordon, and his general tolerance of other religions than the one in which he himself so firmly believes, we note the following rather severe marks in the *Catholic Presbyterian* for September, 1881, from the

pen of the Editor, Professor W. G. Blaikie, D. D. :—

"We are inclined to fear that Colonel Gordon is apt to mistake the impressions of his own heart for Divine teaching, and to stigmatise all that differs from that. We do not find in his letters such acknowledgment of the authority of the Word of God as we should desire. Is it from the Bible that he derives his notions as to the safety of the Mohammedan, or as to the incantation of heathen priests being accepted and answered as prayer by God? Is it consistent with the doctrine of free forgiveness to give the Mohammedan a claim on God's favour because his life is a fairly pure one? There is in these letters a leaven of the fashionable doctrine of our day, that religions do not differ from each other so much as has commonly been believed, and that if worshippers are sincere they must find acceptance. And, in harmony with this view, we find Colonel Gordon countenancing some of their practices, such as restoring a mosque for worship, endowing the priests and the crier, and having a great ceremony at the opening of it. 'To me it appears that the Mussulman worships God as well as I do, and is as acceptable, if sincere, as any Christian.' If this be so, what need has any Pagan to give up his own religion? or why did Christ send His apostles to preach the Gospel to every creature?"

We are inclined to agree with Colonel Gordon rather than with Professor Blaikie, for we think his views are more in accord with those expressed by a greater than either, who declared long ago "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but IN EVERY NATION he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to Him." Acts x. 34.

More than one hundred years ago another writer thus treats of this subject:

"It is a general opinion that they who are born out of the Church, and who are called Pagans and Gentiles, cannot be saved, by reason that they are without the Word, and consequently are ignorant of the Lord, without whom there is no salvation. But, still, that these also are saved may be known from this single consideration, viz.: that the mercy of the Lord is universal, and is extended to

every individual man, and that they who are born out of the Church are nevertheless men, as well as those born within the Church, who are comparatively few in number, and that it is no fault of theirs that they are ignorant of the Lord. Thus there can be no doubt that the Gentiles who have led a moral life, and have been obedient, and have lived in mutual charity, and have received something like a conscience, *agreeably to their religious principles*, will be saved."

Are we in these enlightened days to be more narrow in our reception of the Bible truth that "GOD IS LOVE," than were those of a former day? And is it consistent with His love that millions who have never heard His name should be doomed to everlasting perdition? We think not.

EGYPT AND ABYSSINIA.

IN our September number we printed a report that peace had been concluded between Egypt and Abyssinia, which we regret to find was premature. Herr Gerhard Rohlfs, the noted African traveller, who has come to Europe on a Special Mission from King John of Abyssinia, with full powers to conclude a peace with Egypt, sends us the following letter upon this subject:—

(Translation.)

WEIMAR, GERMANY,
28th Oct., 1881.

Dear Sir,—Only yesterday I received letters from Abyssinia, one from Dr. Steiker, and one from Herr Schimper in Adowa. The latter brings me special instructions from the Negus Negest, to enable me to conclude a peace. Thus you will see that the notice contained in the "ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER," was, I am sorry to say, a little premature. *Peace between Egypt and Abyssinia is not yet concluded*, and could not well be so, seeing that the Negus has left it entirely to me to arrange. I hope to be in London in January, and then to return to Cairo, for I am persuaded that a real and lasting peace can only be made *under the auspices of the British Government*.

It is to be hoped that, in the interests of humanity, and of Christian feeling, the Government of your powerful country will be willing to raise its voice in support of the wishes of the Negus, for then it cannot fail but that order and civilisation shall be established where now brute force alone rules.

Your faithfully,

G. ROHLFS.

To C. H. Allen, Esq.

NOTE.—In former communications from Herr Rohlfs, we learn that the German Government is prepared to cordially co-operate with that of England in the endeavour to secure a lasting peace between Egypt and Abyssinia. We trust that our Government will give their full support to Herr Rohlfs in this important mission.

"L' EGYPTE."

JOURNAL POLITIQUE.

SUPPRESSION DU JOURNAL.

ALEXANDRIA, 28th Oct., 1881.

SUCH was the heading of the last number we have received of an Egyptian journal, from which we have often quoted much valuable information. The Ministerial Decree suppressing the paper is as follows:—

(Translation.)

"As in its number of the 2nd of October, in an article entitled, "*L' Egypte d'autrefois et l' Egypte d'aujourd'hui*" the *Journal l' Egypte* has inserted the following phrase—'We must not so much blame Osman, the fanatical successor (héritier) of a false Prophet, &c., &c.' And as such expressions constitute an outrage, calculated to wound deeply the religious sentiments of the majority of the inhabitants of the country, and are not to be tolerated, therefore:—

1. The *Journal l' Egypte* is suppressed.
2. The prefect of police of Alexandria is charged with the execution of the present decree.

Given at Cairo, at the office of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 26th October, 1881.

(Signed) MOUSTAPHA, FEHMY (Minister)."

Our readers will doubtless have seen that, owing to a warning received by the Editor of the above paper that his life was in danger, he was requested by the French Consul to leave Egypt immediately, and was placed under guard on board a French steamer.

We deeply regret this untoward incident, the more so that we feel quite unable to justify the remarks which produced so much excitement in Egypt, though at the same time we think they were probably the result of an oversight.

No one has a right to insult the religion of *any nation*, particularly of one to whose hospitality you are indebted. However much anyone may wish to make converts to the religion which he himself believes, he has not the smallest right to employ either force or abuse for this purpose.

THE TRANSVAAL.

THE following Minute passed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has been forwarded to the Secretary for the Colonies:—

At a Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held on the 4th November, 1881, it was resolved that the following Minute should be forwarded to the Right Honorable the Earl of Kimberley, P.C., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"TRANSVAAL.

"That this Committee has seen with great satisfaction the firm attitude lately taken by Her Majesty's Government, which has resulted in the ratification, by the Volksraad, of the Convention signed by the Boer leaders and the English Commissioners; and the Committee, at the same time, trust that Her Majesty's Government will continue to take such steps as shall prevent the rights of the native races, as stipulated for by the terms of the Convention, from ever being infringed."

On behalf of the Anti-Slavery Committee,

SAMUEL GURNEY, *President*.
JOSEPH ALLEN, *Treasurer*.
JOSEPH COOPER, } *Hon. Secs.*
EDMUND STURGE, }
CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary*.

NATIVE APPRENTICESHIP IN THE TRANSVAAL.

PIETERMARITZBURG, Nov. 3.—The Transvaal Volksraad has considered the question, submitted by its Executive, relating to the apprenticeship of 800 natives by the British Government during the annexation.

The State Attorney averred that the terms under which these people were indentured for a long period of service were much harsher than those which the Convention professed to guard against, children being separated from their parents.

The Executive advised that the apprenticeship of these people should be cancelled. The Volksraad has appointed a Commission to inquire into the question.—*The Times*.

We shall be glad to see the Volksraad giving the British Government an Anti-Slavery lesson, if it is required!

SLAVERY IN SPAIN.

OUR esteemed corresponding member, Senor Jurado, has forwarded us the following startling account of a flagrant violation of the Spanish law, as set forth in a Royal Order of King Alfonso, under date 16th April, 1879, for copy of which see "ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER" for August, 1879, page 208.

This decision of the King of Spain proclaimed that all slaves in the Island of Cuba, who may have visited any country where Slavery has no legal existence, are FREE FOR EVER! Surely, by terms of this Royal Order, not only must the female slaves here alluded to be free in Spain, but they can never legally be reduced to a condition of Slavery.

We should think that the Spanish Abolition Society, of which Senor Labra is the distinguished president, should take steps to test the state of the law upon this important question.

An officer of the Spanish Army Commissariat has lately brought from Cuba to Spain a female slave with her two daughters, who had been so badly treated by him that they had fled to the interior, travelling a long distance on

foot. The officer reported their case to the rural police, who had the fugitives arrested, punished, and restored to their owner. On hearing of these scandalous proceedings, the Spanish Abolitionist Society applied to the Government to have the women set at liberty, for by the laws of Spain they were free as soon as they touched Spanish soil; but we are sorry to add that up to the present time their application has not been successful, and the women are still in the power of their master. The President of the Abolitionist Society is making every effort in their behalf, and there should be no doubt of his obtaining their freedom from a Government that represents the sacred principles of Liberty.

The Deputies for Cuba, in the Cortes, have inserted an amendment in their reply to the speech from the throne, in which they pray the Government to emancipate the slaves of Cuba. The amendment will be proposed in Congress by a Cuban, Coronel Portnondo, and seconded by Sr. De Labra, President of the Abolitionist Society. These gentlemen, we learn, are about to hold meetings in the principal towns of Spain, in favour of the total abolition of Slavery in Cuba. Their propaganda meets with much opposition on the part of the slave-owners, but they are resolved to maintain their principles at all costs. Their enthusiasm for this noble work will command the warmest sympathy of all abolitionists.

THE "REPORTER" IN AMERICA.

WE commend the example of our esteemed friend and co-labourer Edward Morris to our readers in various parts of the world, from many of whom we shall be glad to hear.

Dear Sir,—I enclose herewith five dollars. This will pay for my *three years' subscription* to "THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER," and for *as many copies* as you can spare me, "REPORTER," SEPTEMBER 15, 1881. I can use these to our mutual advantage in this country.

I have long intended to subscribe; I must now have it monthly. When my term expires let me know, and I will at once renew my subscription. A monthly publication of such a Society, with such a President as Samuel Gurney, Esq., carries both weight and conviction with it.

What would be the charge per annum for one-third of a page for advertising *Liberia Coffee, Soap, and Palm Oil*? May I hear from you by return mail.

If you ever think of me, try and picture one who is quite 'happy, having this year opened a school-house in Liberia—of one who has faith to believe that the school-house is the stepping-stone to cultivated homes and Christian Churches in the now "*Dark Continent*."

Ever your friend and brother on guard,

EDWD. J. MORRIS.

Charles H. Allen, Esq.

Sec. British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
55, New Bond-street, London, E.C.

UNVEILING OF THE CLARKSON MEMORIAL STATUE AT WISBECH.

WE regret that owing to our not having received any notice of this most interesting event, we were unaware of the date fixed for the ceremony until its announcement in the public press the day before; and, consequently, were unable to offer that public recognition which was due to the memory of Thomas Clarkson, by the Anti-Slavery Society, of which he was one of the earliest members.

In our next issue we hope to be able to publish copy of an address which was hastily drawn up, and forwarded to the Chairman of the Memorial Committee, and which, we understand, was read during some part of the proceedings.

Books, &c., Received.

MEMOIR OF JOHN GRAY: A JOURNEYMAN.
By Theodore Compton. See *Advertisement*.

OUR friend and supporter Mr. Compton has sent us several copies of the above excellent little work, which we should be glad to review did our space admit of articles not connected with the Anti-Slavery cause. We can, however, cordially commend this little history of a truly good and honest workman to the notice of our readers.

If we all did our duty in our several vocations as John Gray did his, the "millenium" would not be far off. John Gray was one of the people called "Quakers."

CETEWAYO.

KING OF THE ZULUS.

WE are very glad to hear that the Government have at last given permission to this unfortunate chieftain to pay a visit to England. We have always maintained that the proper way to fit him for a return to his own country was to let him see for himself the civilisation of the people who had conquered him—in *their own homes*, and not merely on the battle field.

RECENT EXPLORATIONS IN THE ROVUMA DISTRICT.

OUR young African traveller, Mr. Joseph Thomson, now engaged on account of the Sultan of Zanzibar in exploring the geology and mineralogy of his dominions, has completed the first part of his mission—the examination of the reported coal-fields on the Loende tributary of the Rovuma—and was back in Zanzibar on the 21st September. He has made an interesting journey, but found no coal. The route followed on landing at Mikindany Bay was along the northern side of the Rovuma, through the dense matted jungle which Livingstone described in his expedition of 1866. Immediately from the shores of the Indian Ocean the land rises to an altitude of 300 feet, and the jungle-path, rich in india-rubber trees, leads for eight marches into the interior, the plateau gently rising until it reaches an altitude of more than 2000 feet. At that point the road descends to the banks of the river, and thence a long march across an uninhabited country leads to Ngomano, at the junction of the Loende or Lujende. Mr. Thomson ascended this river to a point two days' journey beyond Itule, and past the locality where coal had been erroneously reported to crop out in cliffs on the river banks. Mr. Thomson's next trip will be to Mombasa.

From the Rev. R. M. Heanley, of the Universities' Mission, we learn that the Rev. Chauncy Maples had returned to Msasi from his long and important reconnoitring journey to the almost unknown region south of the Rovuma, towards the Luli and the head waters of the Loende. He had been absent two and a half months and travelled about 900 miles.—*Proceedings Royal Geographical Society.*

NATIONAL VENGEANCE.

"As it is with the individual, so it is with the human race. The Lord says to the nation or to the race, just as He says to the individual, 'Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart.'" Here is the point of the whole matter, the pivot on which the whole progressive and perfecting movement of men and of mankind turns. We must all take the Lord's yoke upon us and learn of Him. The Lord's yoke is the symbol, and the very fact and spirit of mental, moral and spiritual discipline; of obedience to law, of that manly subordination to the principles of everlasting righteousness, of which our Saviour gives us the great divine example. The Lord's yoke is the yoke of righteousness, justice, love, purity, obedience, humility, mercy and holiness. It is a yoke that restrains our false and evil propensities, and sets our true and good propensities in working order. We have special need of that yoke now when so many men are breathing threats of violence and vengeance. We have need of this yoke when we see that deep, subtle, terrible oath of vengeance, which only a Shakespeare could formulate, quoted with approbation:

'Kneeling before this ruin of sweet life,
And breathing to his breathless excellence
The innocence of a vow, a holy vow,
Never to taste the pleasures of the world,
Never to be infected with delight,
Nor conversant with ease and idleness,
Till I have set a glory to this head,
By giving it the worship of revenge.'

"And when this tempest-burst of vengeance is quoted, thousands, alas, still respond, as do the characters in the play:

'Our souls religiously confirm thy words.'"

—*American Paper.*

NOTICE.

AN exhaustive and most interesting paper read by the Rev. Horace Waller at the late meeting of the British Association in York, on *Fifty Years' Exploration in Africa*, is in type, and will be inserted in our next number.—
ED. "REPORTER."

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TO MINISTERS OF RELIGION.—(Special Reduction in Price.)—The Author will forward a copy, post free, to any Minister of Religion on receiving postal order for 4s. Address—Rev. H. N. GRIMLEY, St. Wilfrid's, Compton Terrace, Brighton.

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The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

ABOLITION IN BRAZIL.

THE ELECTIONS:

DEFEAT OF SENHOR NABUCO.

WE regret to find from the following short editorial of the *Rio News* of the 15th ult., that the Abolition Party in Brazil has received an overwhelming defeat in their appeal to the constituencies. Senhor Nabuco, the President of the Brazilian Abolition Society, and formerly deputy for *Pernambuco*, determined to contest the capital of the Empire on abolition principles. His defeat will of course prove a great blow to the cause of emancipation, but as from evil good may often be seen to arise, we believe that Senhor Nabuco's contemplated visit to England may probably be of more ultimate value to the cause he so ably advocates, than his almost single voice could have been in the Chamber of Deputies. We shall be heartily glad to welcome him once more to this country:—

Rio de Janeiro, November 15th, 1881.

One important result of the late election, as far as is shewn by the returns up to the present moment, is the general defeat of the abolitionists. There has been a belief that the country desired emancipation, although not in a summary manner. The abolition party, if a small unorganized group of men may be so classed, made no effort in the election to make an issue of their principles, and in only a very few cases did abolitionists base their canvass upon that question. In this city, the leader of the abolition movement made that question the main

issue in his canvass, but although he is admitted to be one of the best among the younger statesmen of the country, he was overwhelmingly defeated. It is clearly evident from these results that the country does not desire emancipation, and that it fears even the simple discussion of the question. And it is also clear that there is a hope to crush the agitation through this verdict at the polls. This belief, however, is a mistaken one. The result of this election will be to better unite and consolidate the real friends of the movement, and to drive away the parasites who attached themselves to it for the notoriety afforded in belonging to a brilliantly contested cause in parliament. With the doors of parliament shut against it, and with nothing but years of hard, silent work before it, the abolition cause will offer no further attraction to these agitators, and will gain by their desertion. On the other hand, we shall expect to see the earnest men go to work with renewed zeal in laying the foundations for a future struggle which must result very differently from the one just recorded.—*Rio News.*

THE AMERICAN MINISTER AT RIO DE JANEIRO ON SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

IN our last issue we called attention to the eloquent and stirring speech made by Mr. Hilliard, the American Minister at Rio de Janeiro on the occasion of a banquet given to him by the Anti-Slavery Society of Brazil. The occasion of the banquet was to give the thanks of that Society to Mr. Hilliard for a very remarkable letter which he had

written to Senhor Nabuco, President of the Society, who had forwarded him a copy of their manifesto against Slavery. In this letter he spoke in very free and glowing terms of the enormous benefit that had accrued to the United States of America by the abolition of Slavery throughout all their dominions, and urged in a friendly tone that the same benefit would accrue to the Brazilian Empire if Slavery were to be abolished in all her borders.

The step taken by the American Minister did not meet the approval of the British Minister at the Court of Brazil, if we may judge by the tone of the letters which he addressed to Lord Granville, enclosing a copy of Mr. Hilliard's letter, and of his subsequent speech. We regret to note that Mr. Ford—the representative of free England—not only throws cold water upon the splendid efforts of Senhor Nabuco in the cause of freedom, but he appears to question Mr. Hilliard's right to "*overstep the bounds of diplomatic decorum*," "in thus publicly mixing himself up in a question which, it is asserted, can only be considered as one of *pure local importance*!"

The sin of Slavery is not a private or a local sin—it affects the whole world and is a crime against humanity.

We are therefore very glad to find, from the following extract from the *Rio News*, that the people of America endorse the conduct and the sentiments of their representative, and are not so sensitive on the subject of frankly telling a friendly nation of its faults as our Ambassador appears to be:—

The many friends of the American Minister, Hon. Henry W. Hilliard, will be pleased to learn that his course here with relation to the question of emancipation was warmly approved at home, not only by his friends but by President Hayes and his Cabinet. Minister Hilliard had every reason to believe that the exercise of his

private influence in behalf of the emancipation of slavery could not possibly offend a Government which had just liberated four million of slaves at so great a cost—and in that belief he adopted a course which reflects the highest credit upon him both as a man and as the representative of a great nation. In the United States the evils of slavery and the benefits of free labor have been practically and thoroughly tested. Time and experience have solved the problem—and at a cost which no civilized people can wish to see repeated. The experience which contributed to the solution of this problem involved four years of war, and the expenditure of thousands of valuable lives and millions of hard-earned dollars. It was an experience which would have crushed a less powerful and wealthy nation. With so recent and so bitter an experience, what less could the American people do than to use a legitimate influence to aid a sister nation in freeing herself from the baneful cause of all these evils? It is true that the American Government could not interfere in the domestic concerns of Brazil; it has no wish nor purpose to do so. But in the exercise of individual influence, either by its representatives or its private citizens, it can not do otherwise than give its warmest approval. No Government could show a higher and more unselfish interest in the prosperity of Brazil than by aiding her in abolishing so grave an evil as Slavery—and in this sense the United States has shown its hearty sympathy and well-wishes in the approval which Minister Hilliard's action has called forth.

NOTE.—For a full report of this most interesting question see *Slave Trade Papers No 1, 1881, pp. 20 to 36.*

THE CHURCHES AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

WE hardly think that Christian Churches have discharged all their duty in reference to this ghastly but momentous subject. Nothing more appalling has fallen on Christian ears during recent years than the details of slave-hunting in Africa. Every traveller has contributed some horrible narrative. There is reason, too, to fear that in some quarters the atrocities have been becoming greater than before. In the vast region of

the Soudan, the transfer of the traffic to Arab hunters, which took place some years ago, was found by Colonel Gordon to have produced a desolation of fearful magnitude. Colonel Gordon's own efforts to suppress slave-hunting in the Soudan were most successful. But he found himself compelled to resign the post of Governor-General. His successor is one Raouf Pacha, far from like-minded with himself. The accounts that come to us are, that the hunting of slaves has been resumed, and the prospects are very alarming.

It must be borne in mind that the Government of a foreign country, like Great Britain or the United States, has no direct power in the matter; it can only use its influence with the actual lord of that region—the Khedive of Egypt. It is so far well that the present Khedive, like his predecessor, is opposed to the Slave-trade. It is very gratifying that, unlike the whole race of Mohammedan rulers, he contents himself with a single wife, and that he is most anxious for the education and the elevation of the women of Egypt. But the Khedive's influence is limited, and even in such matters as the appointment of officers to important positions, he is often unable to carry out all his wishes. Lately, he has been paying honour to one who has shown himself the most determined and powerful promoter of the Slave-traffic in the Soudan.

Such men as the Khedive need to be encouraged and strengthened in every possible way. And our own Governments need to be urged and supported in the efforts they may make. One step of great practical importance would be the appointment of English and American consuls at some of the chief emporiums of trade. It is through British consuls that so much has been done against the Slave-trade in the dominion of the Sultan of Zanzibar. It would not cost General Assemblies much to devote a couple of hours to the African Slave-trade, to send memorials to their Governments, and encourage their congregations to do the same. It is understood that Mr. Gladstone is personally alive to the importance of the subject. And our friends in the United States and in the Colonies have the same interest in the work with us all. Is it not fitting that the followers of Him who came to give liberty to the captive should show some interest in this cause? No doubt our business is to preach the Gospel; but we know the African

Slave-traffic to be the most grievous obstacle to this course, and our memorials would be counted no interference, but welcome helps to those who are actively trying to close the open sore of the world.—*Dr. Blaikie in Catholic Presbyterian.*

We quite agree with Dr. Blaikie. With the honorable exception of the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, scarcely any of the Churches in England give any open support to the Anti-Slavery cause.—*Ed. Reporter.*

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IN EGYPT.

IN our last number we gave a short notice of the suppression of the Egyptian paper *l'Egypte*. We now print a translation of a warning issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to all the European Press in Egypt, together with some remarks thereon, by the *Egyptian Gazette*, a spirited English journal published in Alexandria. This newspaper has been named an Official Journal by the Court of Appeal for Egypt and other Tribunals for the publication of legal decrees and other orders of the Courts. We trust that the newly-formed Ministry of Cherif Pacha is not about to inaugurate a system of gagging the Press! They may rest assured that Egypt cannot shut herself out from the overwhelming influence of the public opinion of Europe, before whose calm irresistible force the hateful system of Slavery is certainly doomed to fall. Egypt must learn to understand that the nations of Christendom are not seeking to overthrow the religion of Islam but to assist Mahomedans themselves in the endeavour to put down all evils that are opposed to the spread of civilization, and that tend to keep the people in a state of degradation and ignorance. Foremost amongst these evils is SLAVERY with its accompanying

horror the SLAVE-TRADE. Men cannot be fettered and brutalized without an enslavement of the whole man—body and MIND.

We have received a circular signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs which, as a matter of courtesy, we print in another column.

The expressions of that circular are capable of two interpretations.

If we are to understand that we must cease all criticism and discussion, relating to the interior or exterior policy of the country, then the Press is, in effect, summarily abolished, and we, at least, should decline to publish a journal which would be necessarily confined to advertisements and official notices.

If, on the other hand, the prohibition only applies to criticism and discussion calculated "without cause or object to excite public opinion and wound the national sentiments," then we can only regret that H. E. should have deemed it necessary to address such a circular to *The Egyptian Gazette*.

Upon the latter assumption, we shall continue, as we have hitherto, to give our best aid to the cause of good and just government, to the maintenance of Egyptian autonomy, to the establishment of order, to the preservation of equal liberty, and to the creation of equal justice, for one and all, native or European.—*Egyptian Gazette*, Oct. 29th, 1881.

[Translation.]

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Direction of the Press.

No. 141.

CAIRO, 26th October, 1881.

The organs of the European Press have contained, for some time past, articles relating to the home or foreign political situation of the country. These articles are marked by a sort of excitement, without cause and without object, and have only the effect of exciting public opinion or of wounding the national sentiments.

It is the duty of every Government to protect with impartiality the rights and interests of all, as well as to ensure moral order. The Government of His Highness will not fail in this duty.

The gravity of the preceding observations will not be overlooked by the managers of papers published in foreign languages; they must cease all polemics, all criticism and all

discussion on the above mentioned subjects, under the penalty of being warned, suspended, or, in case of need, suppressed in conformity with the Law.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs,
(Signed) MOUSTAPHA FEHMY.

Mr. A. V. Philip,
Manager of *The Egyptian Gazette*.

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN THE SOUDAN.

THE following is a translation of a letter which was published in a recent number of the *Mittheilungen* of the African Society of Vienna.

Mr. Hansal, whose signature is appended to the letter, to the Consular Agent at Khartoum for Austro-Hungary:—

"The latest received advices from the missionary, Don Leon Henriot, writing from Nooba, contain the following information respecting the Slave-trade, which still thrives in that district. The trade is not, however, confined to Nooba and Baggaza; the traffic prevails equally in other provinces of the Soudan. A desire to acquire a rapid fortune from small beginnings—avarice and covetousness—these are the leading incentives to the trade in human beings. The Soudanese is not of a character ever to feel himself attached to his native soil, or to care, like the Egyptian, to earn his bread by the honest sweat of his brow. He loves to roam, to speculate, and thus to render existence as easy and as pleasurable as possible.

"During the season of the ivory-trade, hundreds of these people, as petty traders, journey from Khartoum to Faschoda, laden with dates, tobacco or salt—a few flasks of oil and other such like trifles; the value of their whole stock-in-trade not amounting, in many instances, to more than ten dollars. It seems hardly necessary to say that these people are not dependent upon this *pro forma* trade for a livelihood. They thrive solely by means of the Slave-trade, for which they are induced to flock in hundreds to Faschoda.

"Now, who are the habitual sellers of slaves? To a certain extent the native-born Negroes, but the principal traders are the district authorities themselves.

"We understand that the Moodeereeyeh of Faschoda has to pay an annual tax

amounting to £12,000, into the Treasury at Khartoum. The population of the district have not the means of meeting this impost. Their wealth consists chiefly in flocks and herds, with which they are in nowise willing to part. As a natural consequence the Government is obliged to have recourse to violence in order to pay the *Talba*. To this end predatory raids or *Ghasua* are regularly undertaken by the soldiers into other districts, from which they return laden with rich spoil in the shape of slaves and cattle, which are then easily disposed of for cash. Young lads capable of carrying arms are enrolled and take part in these expeditions. It would even appear that the Government officials' salaries are chiefly paid in slaves. How does all this harmonise with the far-and-wide trumpeted assertion that slavery in Egypt is suppressed? While the Government makes common cause with the Djellabs and outmatches them in slave-dealing, all hope must be extinguished of any satisfactory solution of the Slave question. Gessi Pacha, on his return denounced the Mooder of Faschoda, asserting that the latter had disposed of 10,000 slaves in the manner discribed. Upon this, as it would appear, the Governor-General interfered and sent his Wakil to Faschoda. The Mooder was arrested and brought as a prisoner to Khartoum. It may be as well here to remark that Salech Bey, the Mooder in question—a negro—had enjoyed a favourable reputation as commander of a troop under Gordon Pasha, and likewise earned some distinction in the Egyptian expedition to Turkey. Nevertheless the opinion prevails that the Governor of Faschoda was constrained to have recourse to the Government. He seems moreover to have declared openly that it would be impossible for him to furnish the amount of the Faschoda Moodereeyeh contributions without the traffic in slaves!

"This disorder can only be checked by including Faschoda, agreeably with Marno's proposal, in the trade blockade of the White Nile, and forbidding traders all intercourse with the place. No doubt this step would be contrary to treaty, yet when we reflect that the Powers have tacitly allowed the Government of the Soudan to monopolise the whole commerce of the Upper White Nile, regardless of their obligations respecting free-trade, which have been guaranteed with a view to the eventual suppression of

the Slave-traffic in those regions; when we reflect on this, no exemption need, we imagine, be taken in respect to Faschoda—the hot-bed of slavery.

"It would now seem to be Raouf Pasha's policy to place the most frequented slave routes, such as Nooba, Fasogla and Kalabat, under the control of European Inspectors as Faschoda is under that of Marno. Unfortunately the European Inspector does not possess the means—the absolute control necessary for the success of the undertaking. He is, in a very great measure dependent upon the native District-Official, who, having an ingrained love for the lucrative traffic, is likely to throw every conceivable obstacle in the way. On carefully analysing the policy actually pursued by the Government of the Soudan in regard to the slave-question, it appears but too apparent that the only object in view in thus introducing the European element, is to shift the blame when the time comes, as unquestionably it must come, when the Slave-trade will have acquired still greater development than at present.

"M. L. HANSAL."

From the Egyptian Gazette.

LORD GRANVILLE'S MANIFESTO ON BRITISH POLICY IN EGYPT.

THIS important state paper will have been read with no little interest by those who are in any degree concerned, not only for the future of the country itself, but of those vast regions with which Egypt is more or less connected. For indeed the fate of a large portion of Africa, north of the Equator would now seem to depend on such progress as may be made in Egypt, in the direction of better Government and of the Christian civilization of the western nations.

While the policy of maintaining in Egypt, the supremacy of the Ottoman Porte, is one which is open to many and grave objections, we nevertheless consider the general tenor of the dispatch to be such as to raise the credit and character of England. We have however, seen the following paragraph with no little disappointment, not for what it contains, but for what it omits:—

"The spread of education, the abolition of vexatious taxation, the establishment of the land tax on a regular and equitable

basis, the diminution of forced labour, have all received our advocacy and support, and have been accomplished through the action of the English and French Controllers-General."

We regret that in this catalogue of beneficent measures, Lord Granville should not have named the one great sore that afflicts Egypt, and which as long as it exists will ever so deeply corrupt the executive administration of the country as to render real progress in its social and political condition, all but impossible, viz.: the AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

When Lord Granville speaks of the "diminution of forced labour" as one of the measures advocated by the British Government, we presume that he refers only to its oppressive exaction from the Fellah population, and why should he have omitted all mention of the slave-trade and slavery as being not less the curse of Egypt, than as it is the scourge of Africa.

When we call to mind the diplomatic efforts so persistently made by England, for the suppression of the Slave-trade by Foreign powers, which, commencing with the Congress of Vienna, were maintained for so many years, we cannot but notice an absence of the same spirit here. As we have more than once recorded the deep disappointment with which we saw this great cause—a cause which more than fifty years ago was so energetically sustained by British statesmen at Vienna and at Verona, so entirely ignored at the Congress of Berlin, so we feel bound, if in a minor degree, to express our regret that so favourable an occasion should have now been neglected of advocating the high, because unselfish Anti-Slavery policy of England.

THE SOUDAN.

WE publish herewith a letter from our valued Correspondent Dr. Schweinfurth.

In this he complains of our printing passages in a letter from Signor G. B. Messedaglia, of Cairo, in which that gentleman speaks in harsh terms of Giegler Pasha. We must at once say that we have no personal animus against any of the officials named in that letter,

as they are all unknown to us except by report, and our only object is to elicit the truth. We are very glad to hear that Dr. Schweinfurth has a higher opinion of Giegler Pasha than the writer of the above-named letter appears to entertain. On looking over M. Messedaglia's letter we admit that it contains accusations such as ought not to be made without clear proof. They were inadvertently admitted into our columns, and we regret that we gave them publicity. For this we owe an apology to Giegler Pasha, which we hereby tender to him, and this we do the more readily that we are aware how difficult it is to obtain reliable information respecting the Slave-trade in a country where slavery is unfortunately still a legal institution.

We are always glad to receive information on this subject from any of our friends, but we must beg them to refrain from introducing any thing of personal feeling into their letters, and we must earnestly disclaim being responsible for any of the facts or opinions which we publish on their authority.

[Translation.]

CAIRO, 5th Nov., 1881.

Dear Sir,—Number 11 of your *Reporter* contains a letter from Mr. Messedaglia on the Slave-trade and Slavery in the Soudan, which gives me great concern. Do not think that I wish to censure its publication. The letter is most interesting, and certainly gives details which its author might prove, but it seems to me that there is in it, to a certain extent, a mixture of truth and of error. When personal animosity is to be seen under the surface, these informations immediately lose their merit. I think it is time we should bear this in mind with regard to letters from the Soudan, because the neglect of this circumspection might injure the authority of the Society and the just cause which it defends. At page 206 there is a passage which speaks of the sale of slaves in the public market place of Khartoum. There must be some mistake in the trans-

lation, probably owing to the bad Italian handwriting, and I am almost sure that you will be able to set it right (find the explanation of it).* Also as regards the accusation against Giegler Pasha, that he has his share in this violation of the laws. Besides, the want of logic in the passage is evident.

The cause of the abolition of slavery and the Slave-trade in the Soudan is in a painful situation. We, its partizans, have only correspondents who constantly mix up their private quarrels and personal antipathies and animosities with the facts which they denounce; and diplomacy, always extenuating and fond of speaking softly, can in default of Consuls, only avail itself of the Egyptian official sources, which are negative in the extreme.

It is time, I think, that your Society should send out, at its own expense, an agent for the purpose of ascertaining on the spot, the actual state of the Soudan as regards Slavery, and thus report to you as an eye witness upon the progress already made towards abolition or the contrary.

As a German, I cannot allow that Mr. Giegler, a man who enjoys an excellent reputation, should be exposed to accusations without proof. I could show you a good number of letters from the Soudan, some of them from my best and oldest acquaintances, speaking as ill as possible of Giegler Pasha, and treating him as a personal enemy. But, pray observe, not one of these letters gives any specific charge against him. They only contain vague and general terms of antipathy towards him. This proves to me that Mr. Giegler must possess some good qualities which I was not aware of. Raouf Pasha is described by friends and foes as a man full of the best intentions, but devoid of energy.

G. SCHWEINFURTH.

To the Editor ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

Extract of private letter from Soudan written in June, 1881.

"The Pyramid here stands on its apex! That is a state of things that cannot last. This place is a Hell!!"

*The words are *sui publico mercato*, but no one would infer that the writer intended to suggest the existence of a public SLAVE Market at Khartoum.—ED.

ENCOUNTER WITH A SLAVE-DHOW.

LOSS OF FOUR LIVES.

A TELEGRAM was received at the Admiralty on the 5th December from Zanzibar, reporting that on the 3rd December Captain C. I. Brownrigg, of Her Majesty's ship London, in a steam pinnace, with ten men, ran alongside a dhow, full of slaves, flying French colours.

After a fierce resistance by the Arab crew, Captain Brownrigg, John G. T. Aers, writer, Richard Henry Monkley, stoker, and Thomas Bishop, ordinary seaman, were killed; one man severely, and two slightly wounded.

The dhow escaped.

The late Captain Brownrigg was born November 19, 1836. He entered the service in 1849, and was appointed to H.M.S. London in June, 1880, which ship was re-commissioned at Zanzibar, 1st September, 1880.

The London is built principally of wood, and is in a very unseaworthy condition, so much so, indeed, that the Lords of the Admiralty have arranged for her to be relieved on the Zanzibar station by H.M.S. Simoon at an early date. Only last month the London made a good capture of a slave-dhow near the island of Pemba. On that occasion one of the boats, under the command of Lieutenant Travers, succeeded in releasing one hundred and forty slaves, principally males. These made an aggregate of over five hundred slaves liberated since the date of the vessel's commission; while nearly two thousand five hundred tons of dhow shipping have been destroyed during that period. In fact, the London was the most successful ship on the station. Captain Charles Brownrigg was highly respected, and, owing to his cautious manner of procedure, the above captures were made with scarcely any bloodshed.

The *Standard* of 6th December has the following excellent editorial on this sad catastrophe, with which we heartily agree. As we have the authority of Sir John Kirk and of Colonel Gordon that the slaves captured on the East Coast of Africa are only FIVE PER CENT. of

the number that are successfully run, we may form some small estimate of the enormous scale on which this barbarous traffic is carried on. In little more than a year the London appears to have captured over 500 slaves, and this would give a total of 10,000 who have escaped her vigilance on the Zanzibar Coast alone in about twelve months:—

"A telegram has just been received at the Admiralty reporting the death of Captain Brownrigg, of Her Majesty's ship London, and three of his crew, in an unsuccessful attempt to capture a slave-dhow near Zanzibar. It appears that on the 3rd inst. the unfortunate officer in a steam pinnace, with ten men, ran across a dhow full of men, flying French colours, and attempted to board her. The Arab crew made a fierce resistance, and a sharp engagement ensued, during which Captain BROWNRIGG, with three of his followers, were killed, and three others wounded, while the dhow succeeded in escaping. This deplorable incident should open the eyes of the authorities to the undoubted fact that the Slave-trade survives, and even flourishes, in spite of all the Treaties which have been made with Oriental Sovereigns, and in almost open defiance of the naval police which we have posted in African waters. The Sultan of Zanzibar is an enlightened Prince, and no doubt does his best to carry out the terms of the Treaty made with him by Sir Bartle Frere. We cannot doubt that he sincerely desires to keep the promises which he publicly gave during his visit to this country, to the effect that he would use his utmost efforts to suppress the nefarious traffic in his dominions. But Slavery is an institution which forms so integral a part of the system of Eastern society that the demand for slaves continues, and accordingly the supply is naturally kept up. Syed Barghash may hold loyally to his engagements, but other Oriental Potentates have not shown themselves equally disposed to keep faith with the Giaour in the matter of the Slave-trade. At the very time when Colonel Gordon was ruling the province of the Soudan, having been sent there for the ostensible purpose of crushing the slave-dealers, slaves were being freely imported into Cairo; and no sooner had he left the country than all the old abuses were once more rife. It is of

little use to reply upon Treaties, nor are preventive measures upon the high seas of much use, unless a decisive blow is struck at the very root of the evil. Europe has proclaimed its horror and hatred of Slavery, and should insist upon its absolute abolition in Turkey and Egypt, and all other countries upon which influence can be brought to bear. The very precautions taken to stop the traffic to a great extent increase its horrors, for it is now conducted by means of small swift boats, and the living cargoes of these are stowed away in low-roofed cramped holds, where the the greater number naturally die of suffocation. The petty victory obtained by these scoundrelly pirates over a British crew will, no doubt, make them bolder and more impudent in their crimes. The result will be that the Government will have to insist upon a searching examination into the present condition of the Slave-trade at Zanzibar, and take stringent measures for its total and unqualified suppression. —*Standard*, December 6th, 1881.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

SIR,

The sad news in your issue of this morning that the captain of the London and four of his men have been slain in attempting the capture of a slave dhow suggests some grave reflections. When we are assured on the best authority that the present system of naval repression of the slave-trade fails to intercept more than 5 per cent. of the traffic known to exist, it becomes us to ask ourselves whether in other spheres of action England has not in late times been lamentably defective. Is it not time for the British Government to do once more as it did in the past—promote a consensus of Europe on this question, or at least that of its leading powers? At a time when the slave-interest was so powerful and the slave-trade so extensive in the western world the energy of the English Cabinet, represented by the Duke of Wellington at the Conference of Verona, then nearly obtained its agreement to rank the Slave-trade as piracy. But at the Congress of Berlin the subject was entirely ignored by the plenipotentiaries of England, when a word from them would have insured a resolution to that effect.

It is idle to talk of such action as an unwarrantable interference with the internal concerns of Egypt, when its primary

rights of self-government have been so absolutely superseded by Europe on behalf of the bondholders. Far stronger is the right to interpose for the execution of measures for the suppression of the Slave-trade and Slavery.

In confirmation of these views, I may remark that in the late Manifesto by Lord Granville of England's policy towards Egypt, a state paper distinguished by its high moral tone, while the reforms of administrative abuses of various kinds are brought under notice, not a word is said of the one curse, supreme above them all—the Slavery and Slave-trade by which the Administration of Egypt is so deeply corrupted.—Yours truly,

EDMUND STURGE.

Devonshire House Hotel,
Bishopsgate Without, Dec. 6th

SIR JOHN KIRK, K.C.M.G., M.D.

WE are very glad to welcome Sir John Kirk home once more—on a well-merited leave of absence—and we are glad to find that in spite of his long residence in a not very healthy African climate this ever active Consul and untiring friend of the slave is in fairly good health.

We heartily endorse the sentiments contained in the following address spontaneously offered to Sir John Kirk on his departure from Zanzibar, by the Indian Merchants and others living under British protection in the territory of Sultan Bergash.

The feature which to us is one of peculiar interest and satisfaction is the acknowledgment by these Banian traders from India, that the gains that for ages have accrued from the traffic in human beings are now far surpassed by the steady profits that flow in from the development of legitimate trade.

Sir John informs us that the increase in the export of India-rubber is most extraordinary, as may be seen by the following extract from a letter of Vice-Consul Holmwood, printed in the Slave-trade papers just issued—page 310.

“India-rubber.—As has already been shown, the discovery of India-rubber in East Africa was the means of fostering its trade at a very critical moment, when the stoppage of the Slave-trade which had taken the place of all regular industry, seemed likely to cause the ruin of Arabs and British Indians alike.

“The importance of this product, therefore can scarcely be overestimated, especially with regard to the district of Mungas and Kiliva, where it alone has created a new trade which finds profitable employment for all those classes whose means of subsistence came to an end with the suppression of illegal Slave-traffic.

“The total export of India-rubber from these places now exceeds 1,000 tons annually. Since last season the price has rapidly risen from £140 to £250 per ton, and there seems no reason to anticipate that it will ever again fall to the former figure.”

So far from being impoverished as they had feared by the compulsory emancipation of their slaves *without compensation*, these Banian Indians are now comparatively wealthy, and live in nicely built stone houses instead of huts, and are often able to leave small fortunes to their children. Here is a striking proof that *“honesty is the best policy,”* for what can be more dishonest than to steal the labour and the liberty of your fellow-man?

The Address which follows, being a spontaneous production, and written in the Indian Gujeratic language, which was understood by all who signed it, is the more valuable.

ADDRESS.

(Translation.)

To John Kirk, Esq.,

H.M.'s Agent-Consul-General,
Zanzibar.

Respected and dear Sir,

We, the undersigned Indian Merchants and others, living under British protection in Zanzibar, desire to avail ourselves of the occasion of your leaving us a short time, to express our deep gratitude for the sympathy, advice, and assistance you have always accorded to us during the long period you have represented Her Majesty and the British Government here.

We feel that to the firm and impartial manner in which you have applied British rule, and the vigilance with which you have held the interests of British subjects is to be attributed the paramount position this community has attained in the country and its general prosperity, while at the same time the unvaried patience and courtesy you have ever shown in allowing all classes ready access to you, considering their requests and complaints, and in fully affording them the benefit of your counsel and great experience has not only endeared your name to all, but brought us more than ever to realize the value of the privilege of living under British protection.

We would also beg to assure you that we have long since understood and appreciated your action in regard to slavery, and we see that your firmness in allowing no vestige of slave-holding to exist among us has proved the means of turning capital into legitimate channels by which so many new sources of wealth have been discovered, that we confidently expect that many branches of commerce will, thereby, be materially extended.

We acknowledge that your efforts to secure the advantages of education for the rising generation of our community have not hitherto been so successful as you desired, but your generous endeavours have not failed to bear fruit. We feel sure that when you are able to represent in England how large a body of H.M.'s subjects are here without the means of procuring any education, we shall have the support of the British Government, and we respectfully assure you that we are now looking forward anxiously to your making during your absence some plan for the supply of this urgent want amongst us.

We now join in praying that God may watch over you and yours. We only regret our inability to convey in this address any adequate expression of what we owe to your guidance and care during the many years you have represented Great Britain in this Country.

Signed by 571 persons, chiefly heads of families.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

DR. FRANCISCO LEOPOLDINO DE GUSMAO LOBO, of Rio de Janeiro, has been elected Corresponding Member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

SLAVE-TRADE PAPERS.

No. I.—1881.

THE BLANTYRE MISSION AND THE SLAVE-TRADE SOUTH OF LAKE NYASSA.

Extracts from Letters of H. M.'s Consul, Lieut.

H. E. O'Neill, Mozambique

WE insert the following extracts from the above interesting letters, which have only quite recently been issued to the public by the Government:—

Mozambique, December 5, 1879.

With reference to the subject of my despatch of the 6th November, reporting attacks upon the members of the Blantyre Mission, I regret to state that I am in receipt of further intelligence from Quillimane, partly verifying the fear I expressed in that letter, in opposition to the opinion of the Chief of that Mission, that more trouble would ensue, from the fact that the Ajawas were a powerful tribe, and that blood had been spilt in resisting their attacks.

I have received also fuller particulars of the cause of the dispute, which proves to be the case of a refugee slave—a difficult case to deal with at first, and now rendered unfortunately more difficult by the hostilities that have arisen from it. My informant, Mr. Fred. Moir, Manager of the Livingstonia Central African Trading Company, writes: "Since then there has been further trouble. About the beginning of this month (November) a party of Ajawas from Chiradzuleo, not very far from Misichi [apparently another petty Chief of the Ajawa tribe] attacked a small new Blantyre village, about a mile distant from the main station. A man was shot at, and a woman and two children carried off. The day I left Blantyre information arrived as to the attackers. We were also told that the captives would be taken to Quillimane and sold unless a woman who is living with her husband at Blantyre was given up to them. This man and woman were married (native fashion) many years ago in Shiré Valley, but during a slave war they were separated; the man came to Blantyre and the woman eventually to Mhanda's country, to one of his sub-Chiefs. Being at Blantyre with things for sale, she recognised her husband, and, soon after her return home, she

ran away and arrived at Blantyre. This is one of the women that are now wanted by the Ajawas. What was done by the Mission I cannot say, as I had to leave to come down here. . . . Most of the disturbances at Blantyre have arisen one way or another from slavery, although the Mission is careful in its dealings with would-be refugees."

It is easy to see this is a case which presented to the Mission some difficulty; the husband apparently had a right to the wife, torn from him in a slaving raid, and all the circumstances made it exceedingly hard to refuse the shelter asked. But, looked at from a purely practical point, it is unfortunate that the woman was admitted and protection given her, for it is idle to talk of moral right in a country where might is the main force, and the unfortunate experience of Bishop Mackenzie's Mission in that same locality has shown the danger of interfering, in any active manner whatever, with the still cherished institution of slavery or the Slave-trade.

* * * * *

This interior Slave-trade, or rather the interior phase of the coast Slave-trade, is at the same time the most important and the most difficult to deal with, both on account of the remoteness of the locality in which it is carried on, and the strong interests that are bound up with it.

As I have recently said, in my despatch of the 4th December, the possession of slaves and ivory is a necessity to these interior tribes for by these only can they procure those articles of commerce upon which not only their prosperity but their power amongst their fellow tribes depend. And although on account of the difficulty in obtaining ivory there has been a diminution in the number of caravans leaving for the interior and a decrease in the number of slaves brought to the coast, yet there is great reason to fear that as those difficulties increase and the supply of slaves gets, comparatively with the supply of ivory, easier, the dealers may be tempted to devote themselves solely to the trade in slaves, where before they were content with a return of part ivory, part slaves. In fact, that where before payments were made both in ivory and slaves, they may be made now only in the latter, and if this change should take place, I fear, that though the dealers be fewer and number of caravans less, no great decrease in the total number of slaves brought down can be expected; and

the question, "how then is this new difficulty to be met," is not an easy one to answer.

* * * * *

And as far as I am able to see, it is and will be impossible to successfully meet this interior Slave-traffic by any other means than the encouragement and development of legitimate trade in that region, which, by bringing with it the comforts and other advantages of civilisation, to many of which the African is keenly alive, will turn the scale against the slave-dealers, and drive them out of the field.

The geographical features of the country would facilitate the working of any commercial scheme of this character, and greatly add to the strength of its effects upon the Slave-traffic.

In the present condition of the Slave-trade the Nyassa interposes itself as a gulf of considerable extent, between the demand on the part of the Chiefs who await the arrival of the coast agents, and the main field of supply. Were a trading company to establish itself upon this lake, using its waterway and that of the Shiré to the rapids, as a base for their operations, there can be no doubt population would rapidly increase upon its shores, and legitimate trade radiating in every direction would deal peaceable, but nonetheless heavy, blows at the trade in slaves, compared to which all other efforts for its suppression would be feeble.

* * * * *

I believe the Slave-trade to be subject to the laws that govern all other trades, even illicit, and whilst the demand exists and supply does not fail, I credit it with a certain strength and elasticity that require really vigorous measures to keep in suppression, whilst the true "killing" process, viz., legitimate trade and other civilising influences, have time to extend and to destroy the evil.

SLAVERY IN PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS.

The following letter has been forwarded to Earl Granville, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society:—

LONDON, Dec. 2nd, 1881.

My Lord,—The Committee regret to learn that the Portuguese flag is about to be raised

in the region of Lake Nyassa, and that it may even now be floating over the Mission Station at Blantyre.

That any jurisdiction should ever be exercised by Portugal over the British Missions and Settlements in those Countries is viewed by the Committee with the gravest apprehensions.

Even assuming that there exists a sincere desire for the extinction of the Slave-trade on the part of the Government at Lisbon, the reports of Her Majesty's Consuls make it perfectly clear that it is powerless to enforce its suppression in the territories over which it claims to hold rule on the Mozambique coast.

Therefore any further territorial extension by Portugal in these regions will inevitably result in giving a new impetus to Slave-hunting in those countries where the several settlements of British Missions at the present time exercise a considerable moral check over the traffic.

The Committee earnestly hope that Her Majesty's Government will therefore spare no legitimate effort to avert this deplorable result.

On behalf of the Committee.

SAMUEL GURNEY, *President.*

EDMUND STURGE, *Hon. Sec.*

CHAS. H. Allen, *Secretary.*

To the Rt. Hon. Earl Granville, H. M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

SLAVERY IN DISGUISE.

THE following information, received through Reuter's agency, is calculated to mislead the public. We would respectfully ask the Minister of JUSTICE in Spain, whether the condition of the slaves in Cuba will be in any way altered or *ameliorated* since their names have been altered from that of SLAVES to APPRENTICES. In the *Abolicionista*, published in Madrid on the 8th and 30th November, we see engravings of the terrible and degrading punishment of the Stocks and of heavy chains, *still in force in Cuba*. Can these instruments of torture be supposed to belong

to a system of Apprenticeship? We think not.

"MADRID, December 7.

"The Minister of Justice, replying to an interpellation in the Congress of Deputies, stated that slavery no longer existed in the Colonies of Spain. In conformity with the recent legislation, it had given place to a system of Apprenticeship."

TRUE PHILANTHROPY.

"PHILANTHROPY, I am happy to say, is the especial possession of no party. Every true man of every party desires the greatest happiness for his race—the only question is how may that result be best obtained. As to the means, we may differ. Let us respect each other's differences. The end is the common aim of all."

SIR JOHN SMALE—*late Chief Justice of Hongkong—Sessional proceedings of the Nat. Association for promotion of Social Science, Nov. 21st, 1881.*

These are words of wisdom and we heartily commend them to all our readers. We trust that none will allow their feelings of dissent from anything that may be published in this Journal to divert their sympathies and support from the great object of putting down all Slavery and Slave-hunting to which the Anti-Slavery Society is devoted. We hope shortly to give some extracts from Sir John Smale's luminous opening Address above quoted, in reference to the terrible Slavery that exists in the British Settlement of Hong Kong, in which small spot he estimates that 3,600 *young girls are sacrificed yearly*—or at the rate of about 10 per day! There are nearly 20,000 bond servants—literally Slaves—in Hong-Kong, mostly women and young boys. It is time our Parliament interfered to prevent this system of Kidnapping and Slavery.—ED.—Reporter.

CASE OF FREEDOM FROM SLAVERY.

HERE is the text of the decision given by the Supreme Court of Justice, in the review of the case between the ex-slaves of the Catta Branca Company and the St. John del Rey Mining Company, Limited, Morro Velho, No. 9789. Seen, expounded, and read over these proceedings of civil revision, between Antonio and others, and the St. John del Rey Mining Company, Limited, Morro Velho. We concede the review asked for, in as much as the so styled free paper, at folio 212, and the proceedings in virtue of a simple order of the Judge Reporter of the suit, at folio 211, without evidence, in the terms of the concession, which was competently drawn up by a notary, could not invalidate the effects of the sentence appealed, which at the same time confirmed the freedom of the plaintiffs and their right to the wages due since the expiry of the term stipulated in the deed, at folio 4, between the Catta Branca company and the defendants, besides being inadmissible in the state in which the suit was.

It appears proved by the proceedings, at folio 211, that by order of the President of the Court, dated 26th October, last year, the day for the trial had been fixed, and yet that very day the Judge Reporter ordered the said Free Paper to be joined to the suit, instead of proceeding to immediate trial in terms of Articles 119 and 122 of Decree No. 5618, to which Article 123 of the same decree refers, so that the order of the trial being inverted, the sentence given is null, as much on account of the violation of the articles of the decree mentioned, as in view of the Law Book 3, Cap. 75. Therefore, the appeal (review) being admitted, we order the report of the court for its revision and new trial.

Rio Janeiro 15th, October, 1881.

(Signed) Barbosa. Paranjoé Goés. Graça, Silva Guimaraes, Valdetaro, Camara, "and I vote for the criminal responsibility of those who violated Article 34 of Decree No. 4835 of 1st December, 1871." (Signed) SILVEIRA.

"I agree to the review only, and for other reasons," (signed) Simoes da Silva, Travasos, Menezes, Almeida, Almeida e Albuguerque, Lisboa, Magalhães Castro.

"I vote for the review, also for decreeing the proper criminal procedure 1st, against the manager of the company (defendants), which, in the year 1872, registered as slaves men whom it knew were free in terms of the contract at folio 4. 2ndly, against all

the other managers of the same Company who for twenty years kept in iniquitous slavery the miserable freemen referred to in said contract at folio 4."

(Signed) COITO, SAYAO LOBATO.

WHITE SLAVES *VERSUS* BLACK.

To the Editor of the *Daily News*.

SIR,—Two or three weeks ago eleven little white arabs, stolen or bought out of the gutters of London, were unearthed by a philanthropic Englishman in the slums of Constantinople. This abomination was made known by means of the Press; naturally enough all England arose and indignantly demanded that this vile slavery should be put down. The Foreign Office was aroused; consuls were set to work, money came pouring in; and, to our great satisfaction, we hear that the poor little waifs are not only on their way home in a British ship, but that they will be well cared for on arrival. Mr. Littler, the honorable prime mover in this humane act, has just written to your paper to say that 700*l.* in money and offers of assistance "in kind" are now at his disposal for these freed slaves, and that no more will be required. Ladies and Gentlemen of high degree have given liberally of their abundance and the work is done. We heartily rejoice at this, and congratulate Mr. Littler on the prompt and successful issue to his appeal. But, Sir, may we be allowed to plead for slaves of a darker hue? These are not to be counted by units, but by hundreds of thousands, if not millions. There are nearly one million and a half of slaves still toiling and suffering in Brazil; almost two hundred thousand in Cuba; in the East the number is untold; but it is estimated that more than half a million of men, women, and children are annually torn from their homes in Africa to feed the demands of Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Arabia, and other countries. Of these it is com-

puted that more than one-half die of starvation and fatigue on the terrible journey to the coast. To stay this deadly current, and to heal the plague-sore of slavery throughout the world, is the constant effort of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Its work is a hard one, and needs constant and unremitting effort. The Foreign Office moves tardily on behalf of the enslaved who cannot claim to be British-born. Consuls are slow to believe in the misery they do not see, and the English public, not being aroused by sensational narratives, does not unloose its purse strings. The whole receipts of this society from the general public for one year are less than the money subscribed for the eleven little white slaves just set free. Remittances in aid of the enslaved of three continents will be gladly received by—

CHAS. H. ALLEN, Secretary,
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery
Society, 55, New Broad Street,
London, E.C., Dec. 3.

FIFTY YEARS' EXPLORATION IN AFRICA.

*(Abstract of Paper read at late Meeting
of British Association by the Rev.*

HORACE WALLER.)

THIS admirable and exhaustive paper deserves to be carefully studied. We only note one omission in its clear and lucid survey. With characteristic modesty, Mr. Waller fails to chronicle the important services he has himself rendered to the cause of the slave, and of exploration in Africa.

The author premised that we were at the present time conscious of the dawn of a second and higher stage of geographical enterprise connected with Africa, and that there was a tendency to turn the recent discoveries to their legitimate purpose—the removal of the barbarism and misery which

afflicted this great continent. Fifty years ago the word "Africa" lay almost like a dead weight on the national conscience—a weight removed once and for all when, in the third year of the British Association's existence, the Emancipation Act severed all English connection with Slavery. At this time geographical interest chiefly centered in the countries lying between the western fringe of the Sahara and the Atlantic, and the Niger absorbed most of the enthusiasm which had been aroused by Denham and Clapperton.

Briefly noticing the succession of travellers who, in the interval between 1830 and 1881, had added to our knowledge of the various regions of the West Coast, the author passed to Central Africa and the Lake Region. He said, "Many will doubtless remember the feelings with which Livingstone's simple narrative of his travels across Africa in the years 1851-4 was received. Men interested in all branches of science, in company with the geographer and the philanthropist, were quick to see in the wandering missionary qualifications which each, from his own point of view, was able to draw upon. No man ever had his eyes about him so much as he; no traveller ever delineated so scrupulously what he saw; it may be doubted whether any single individual ever rendered such faithful service to Africa, or gave such an impetus to geography. To David Livingstone were granted moments rare indeed in the history of mankind. Who can imagine what it must have been to look upon the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi and upon the Moero and Bangweolo lakes for the first time? His earlier explorations will always be associated with his heroic determination to save the Makololo tribe from becoming decimated by the Slave-trade, which at the time of his first visit to them, in 1850, had just been opened in their midst by slavers who came from Zanzibar. Grasping the whole situation in a moment, he sought to find for the central tribes an outlet for their ivory and other produce, either on the western or eastern side of the continent, nay on both, crossing the continent on foot and tracking the greater part of the Zambesi throughout its length. As a result, he found the river true to the character of African rivers in general, and only navigable up to the cataracts above Tette. Far more important, however, in his eyes were the revelations which his experiences authorised him to make on his return to England.

Everywhere he had found nations and tribes willing to befriend him, mendicant as he was of necessity, in their towns and villages; but there were everywhere the unmistakable footprints of the slave-trader, and it became henceforth the ruling passion of his life to be beforehand with the deadly foe of the peoples amongst whom he hoped to spend his days. With this in hand as the key to his exertions, we can well understand with what joy he availed himself of the proffered help of H.M. Government, and accepted the leadership of the Zambesi Expedition of 1859, in which we find the names of Charles Livingstone, Kirk, Baines, Thornton, and E. D. Young associated with his own. Armed with Consular authority, he unflinchingly exposed the French engagée system, one of the worst forms of slavery. He brought to light all the ramifications of a traffic in slaves between the Shiré Highlands and the trans-Zambesi Kafir tribes, carried out with the most unblushing effrontery by the Portuguese in East Africa. This was causing the destruction of hundreds of thousands, whilst at the same time it was not even suspected by the outer world. Looking back upon those years of bitter disappointment, on so-called wasted lives, on unsuccessful experiments in river and lake navigation, we can nevertheless see now how valuable to Africa was every exertion made, every experience gained, every example of single-minded devotion and sacrifice displayed before the natives. . . . If Africa was to be opened at all, it was requisite to find out in the first place the weak places in the expedition work, that they might be avoided in time to come, and to note, for the use of explorers and missionaries, what must be done and what avoided.

Turning next to the great lakes, the author continued:—"Rudely delineated in ancient maps was a certain inland sea with various names attached to it, somewhere in the direction of the Tanganyika of to-day. The Mombas missionaries had diligently sifted the reports of Arab traders trafficking with the distant tribes, and to them the existence of this lake was anything but a myth. Under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, Captains Burton and Speke started from Zanzibar, in 1857, to solve the problem. They were rewarded by the discovery of Lake Tanganyika, and brought back with them a store of information connected with the whole country traversed, which has been of the greatest use to all subsequent travellers

and missionaries. But one piece of news on the testimony of Captain Speke far outshone the rest. He asserted that yet another very large lake lay to the north-east of Tanganyika, and that the true source of the Nile would probably be found there. Few who recollect the intense delight with which Sir Roderick Murchison welcomed all new discovery in Africa, will forget how he instantly seized upon the material brought to him by Captain Speke, nor how he urged him to develop without delay the gigantic project which was already half formed in the young officer's mind. No more important duty lay before the Royal Geographical Society than to aid this fresh venture to the full, and the way in which it was carried out must always redound to the credit of all concerned. To Speke and his companion Grant fell the honour of setting at rest beyond all cavil the puzzle of every age. They viewed the waters of the lake away down the Ripon Falls, they tracked it to within a few miles of Lake Albert Nyanza, the presence of which to their westward they were able to indicate to Sir Samuel Baker, who opportunely arrived to relieve them, and again taking up the Nile's course, they traced it down to Egypt proper. Thus having accomplished the 'Walk across Africa' of our bookshelves, they returned home to receive the well-merited congratulation of the whole civilised world. . . .

Very welcome as an accession to our knowledge of these countries was the elaborate account given to us by that accomplished naturalist, Dr. Schweinfurth, who passed through the complicated network of tributaries which reach the White Nile west of Gondokoro. In 1869 to 1871 he carefully examined the watershed which on the one side supplies the Nile, and from the other casts waters in the direction of Lake Chad. Great interest centres around this discovery. Schweinfurth came upon the river Uelle in April, 1870, when its flood was at the lowest. Nevertheless he found a river 800 feet wide, from 12 to 15 feet deep, passing westward with steady flow, and at that point approximately 1000 miles from Lake Chad. He had no reason to doubt the testimony of those he questioned, who one and all declared its course to them was known in a northerly direction for many days. Here, then, is a problem yet to be solved of the most interesting kind. Surmise, of course, would track it to Lake Chad, but surmise has

already spoilt too many maps of Africa to allow of our doing more than recommending the thorough exploration of the Uelle to those who would wish to win geographical laurels."

* * * * *

"Livingstone quitted England for the last time in the autumn of 1866, and having visited Bombay, repaired to Zanzibar to make final arrangements for his journey. We find him making for the Rovuma River once more. . . . Travelling round the south end of Nyassa, he now ascended to the high plateau which forms the watershed between the Loangwa and the Zambesi. He made the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, and then striking the higher waters of the Chambezi, traced this river to Lake Bemba or Bangweolo, thus verifying the native report of 1863. . . . Livingstone's discovery of Lake Bangweolo was followed by an arduous journey to the westward of all points previously known. He found in the great flood of one, Luapula, pouring out at the west of the lake, a possible Nile or Congo. . . . Eagerly did he visit Lake Moero in November, 1867, and traced the same river thence under the name of Lualaba, flowing in a northerly direction. The natives assured him that several other lakes were strung together by a great river coming from the westward. But here his strength failed him so seriously that he was forced to make for the Arab settlement at Ujiji. A bitter disappointment met him when, exhausted in mind and body, he discovered that only a very small portion of the stores he had ordered from the coast had survived a general pillage made on the journey up. . . . How Livingstone was for the time lost, then found by Mr. Stanley, and succoured in great straits, is well known to all. . . . Still uncertain whether he had been working out the line of the Nile or Congo, there came with better strength the old unconquerable craving for thorough satisfaction, and he started southwards after parting with Mr. Stanley at Unyanyembe, to make a wider cast, and trace the Lualaba on past Nyangwe. Few could doubt that he went this time to certain death! The intense excitement connected with the discoveries on his last journey, and the conviction that he would probably not be able to visit Africa again, furnished the stimulus which drove him onwards; but indications were not wanting to show that the ex-

haustion consequent upon disorders contracted whilst travelling amongst the swamps of Africa for so long, had overbalanced all chance of success. We know that his heart lies buried by the shores of Bangweolo, laid there by his men when they bore his body home. Was there ever a more interesting heart-burial than this? Did Crusaders in olden times do greater honour to any leader than Chuma and his companions to the man who had fallen in this assault on darkness and cruelty? . . . But now sufficient knowledge has been acquired to open up problems of the most exciting nature. In January, 1873, Lieutenant Cameron, who had been armed with ample material by the Royal Geographical Society, and had met the body of Livingstone being borne to the coast, dashed single-handed into the country to solve them. After a survey of the shores of Lake Tanganyika, he made his way to Nyangwe, but found himself baffled in his project of descending the Lualaba. Then began an independent journey over totally new ground by Kibokwé and Bihé to the West Coast. . . . But still geographers felt that the interest connected with the Lualaba had only increased instead of being diminished. All that Livingstone had seen and heard of the gathering into one northerly torrent of lake-waters, rivers and streams without end, was more than borne out by Cameron's recital. The desert of old maps proved to be the most drenching part of the earth's surface! Levels, to say nothing of the volume of water, put all idea of the Nile being the ultimate destination of this northerly flood out of the question. It was left for Mr. Stanley to trace the Lualaba into the Congo and the Congo to the Atlantic Ocean. The history of the venture, which must always stand out in bold relief from modern journeys of discovery, is familiar to all. Later work of great value has been done on the lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika by the members of the Scotch Livingstone mission, especially by Mr. James Stewart, C.E., and by Mr. James Thomson."

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In his concluding remarks, Mr. Waller said:—

"Too briefly have we touched, then, upon the main explorations which have opened out Africa since the foundation of the British Association. Africa has for centuries been surrounded by a ring of fire.

Like the poor insect which, with the glowing embers round it, fails to find a gap here or there, and at last retreats into the midst to destroy itself with its own sting, so the tropical regions have been fenced in by the Slave-trade round the coast. The tribes in Central Africa, unable to reach out to civilization, have preyed upon themselves. The poison of the Slave-trade has been turned in upon the inhabitants of the glorious highlands and the borderers of the lakes. They have seen it hopeless to attempt to bring the products of their own magnificent land to the sea; it is a bourne, in the mind of the native, from which no traveller returns. Thus hemmed in, they are content to have goods of the western and eastern world brought to them by the Portuguese, the Egyptian or the Zanzibar Arab, by the Sebehrs of Gordon, the Tipoo-tipoos of Cameron, the Marianos of Livingstone! These tear their children from them as the slaver only knows how to take them, and then we wonder that Africa has been shut up so long! . . . I cannot help fixing your attention upon the water-way into Central Africa which we have indicated in the course of the Zambesi and Shiré and the Lake Nyassa—here is the water that will quench the glow of the old fire and enable Africa to pass over and tell us what her inner treasures are. . . . On the Congo we watch with anxiety the efforts of Mr. Stanley to turn his prodigious discovery to account under the King of the Belgians' auspices. France opens the purse-strings of the Republic to enable the Count de Brazza to settle and civilise her possessions on the Ogowé river. Who will, who can divorce these happy facts from the explorations of the last fifty years? Africa is changing: her natural wealth will help the process. She divulges spots which for intrinsic worth make all others on the earth's surface insignificant: who can say what an acre of land at Kimberley will yield in wealth from first to last? Attracted to gold fields and diamond fields, many of the explorers of the future will learn, as Dr. Holub learnt, to take more than a passing or a selfish interest in her. The time will assuredly come when the high plateau will be traversed hither and thither by others than slave-traders, and colonists wonder how it came about that Central Africa was so long left to itself. The swift river passage, the ascent to the 3000 feet level, these are the two essentials. The first article, as an importation which Africa craved

for, is one which perhaps we can least spare, without it she pleads that neither missionary nor explorer can woo her long enough to love her well: I mean a stock of common sense. Whenever the good time has fairly come, then men will stand amazed to think how the forerunners were content to perish in sickly swamps near the coast, and the time will have gone for men to stand up to their necks in miasmatic mud to shoot hippopotami. If in the early days of India it was said that it was a country in which the "griff" might take liberties with any thing except himself; of Africa it may be said the liberties men are apt to take with themselves have been disastrously against her welfare, and have reduced our knowledge of her almost to a minimum. If we have already steamers plying on both sections of this route, and others about to be sent out to navigate Tanganyika, we recognise the best evidence of progress. It is not my intention to parade missionary efforts before you here, but it would be a clumsy concealment if I ignored the fact that missionary work has mightily altered the geographer's task for the better over the whole district between the coast on the east and the lakes as a western boundary. Portugal has permanently removed, we may trust, barriers and restrictions of late which will assuredly be repaid to her a hundredfold, although temporary embarrassments have resulted at home, which we may trust are already fading away in the light of national *amour propre*. Much of this is due to one whom we shall now miss from amongst us, the late Vicomte Duprat, one to whom all missionaries and travellers passing into the Portuguese possessions in East Africa have owed so much."—*Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society. Nov., 1881.*

Obituary.

THE LATE JOSEPH COOPER.

On the 28th of November there passed away, after many years of suffering, one who, for upwards of half a century, had been the unflinching opponent of slavery in every form and in every clime. We refer to Mr. JOSEPH COOPER, of Essex Hall, Walthamstow

one of the Honorary Secretaries of the British and foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and a prominent member of the Society of Friends. His name, to a large number of his countrymen, was comparatively unknown, but this was mainly due to the unostentatious manner in which he laboured for suffering humanity.

Mr. Cooper began his active Anti-Slavery career about the year 1830. At that period slavery, with all its evils, was rampant in the colonies of Great Britain. There had, indeed, been, for some years past, a "London Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions." But, to a large number of outsiders, and also to some of its members, something more than a mitigation of the evils, and a gradual abolition of slavery, was felt to be needed. This feeling took a definite shape, by the establishment, in June, 1831, of the Agency Committee, "for the purpose of disseminating information by lectures on Colonial Slavery." In the formation of this Society Joseph Cooper and his brother Emanuel, in conjunction with the late Sir George Stephen, took a leading part. Its first committee consisted of 18 members, but owing to its numerous meetings, and to other causes, only a small proportion of that number could always be present. One of its regulations was, that it should meet daily at noon; and the want of what is commonly called a *quorum* should not be allowed to impede its operations. But whoever else might be absent three individuals in the prime of life were nearly always present. One of these was Joseph Cooper. It was by them that the arduous work of spreading a knowledge of the horrors of slavery, and of creating a healthy public opinion was mainly effected. In the Letter of Instructions issued to their agents the committee observed:—"It is probable that cases may occur in

which it will not be possible to obtain specific instructions from the committee; and where your judgment must be guided by principle alone. *This principle must be—*' that the system of colonial slavery is a crime in the sight of God, and ought to be immediately and for ever abolished.'" The eloquent George Thompson was one of the lecturers of the Agency Committee.

Previous to the General Election of 1832 the country had been so well educated on the question of Slavery that Earl Grey's Government were compelled to introduce a measure of Emancipation—gradual though it was. On the passage of this Act the immediate work of the Committee was complete, but its members kept a watchful eye upon the working of the Apprenticeship system in the Colonies.

On the return of Mr. Joseph Sturge and Mr. Thomas Harvey from the West India Islands in 1837 they gave such a report of the cruelties that were there practised under the system of apprenticeship that the feeling of the country was deeply stirred, and the efforts of the Abolitionists in England were at once directed to obtain *immediate and unconditional emancipation*. In these efforts, which were so far successful as to carry a measure against the Government whereby the apprenticeship system was terminated in 1838 instead of 1841, the subject of this memoir took an active part.

When, in 1839, Mr. Joseph Sturge and others founded the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society Joseph Cooper became one of its earliest and most active members. At the request of the Committee, Mr. Cooper took a leading part in the preparations for the great Anti-Slavery Convention (known as the World's Convention) of June, 1840. The success of that gathering proved how completely the arrangements were

carried out. In Haydon's picture of the Convention, which now hangs at the National Portrait Gallery, and which was conveyed to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society by Mr. Cooper, as last surviving trustee for the subscribers, a portrait of this unwearied friend of the Slave is to be found. He was equally active in the work of the Convention of 1843. Mr. Cooper wrote and translated numerous books and pamphlets on the question of Slavery and the Slave-trade. Amongst the number was a translation from the French of a work written, at his request by M. Berlioux, entitled *The Slave-trade in Africa* in 1873.

In 1875, a work on the extent of the Slave-trade and Slavery, styled *The Lost Continent*, from Mr. Cooper's pen, had a large circulation both in the English and French languages. Portions of it were also translated into German.

Prior to the assembling of the Conference at Constantinople in 1876, Mr. Cooper issued a valuable pamphlet headed, "Turkey and Egypt, past and present, in relation to Africa," which was widely distributed chiefly amongst official personages.

Besides his labours at home on behalf of the slave, Mr. Cooper took two or three journeys to Madrid with reference to the emancipation of the enslaved negroes in the Spanish possessions, and also with regard to the persecuted Protestants of Spain. We believe that he was only one of a deputation of the Anti-Slavery Society to the Provisional Government of France in 1848, of which M. Victor Schœlcher was a prominent member. It will be remembered that the action taken by that Society afforded great assistance to the French Government in passing their great Act for the

abolition of Slavery in the French Colonies. These are but a few of the beneficial acts of one who was ever ready to serve the poor and down-trodden of every race, and his loss will be greatly felt in the various departments in which he laboured with unwearied assiduity for more than half a century.

Although compelled by a painful illness to retire from active life for the last few years, yet his mind was as bright as ever, and his heart beat as warmly with love for the afflicted and enslaved. From his quiet home in Essex his calm eye surveyed the world, and took cognizance of the cruel wrongs done in the Dark Continent. His voice and his pen were ever ready, and his sound counsel and matured judgment were felt to be a source of strength to those who were still fighting in the forefront of the battle against Slavery. That voice and that Nestorian wisdom, based on a lifelong experience, will be greatly missed, and it will be long before his fellow-workers will be able fully to realize that Joseph Cooper has passed away from this earthly scene for ever, though they feel assured that his quiet influence will be still present with them.

Whitier's lines on Joseph Sturge could with equal truth be applied to this good and great man:—

"Tender as a woman; manliness and meekness,
In him were so allied, [ness
That they who judged him by his strength or weak-
Saw but a single side.

• • • • •
"And now he rests; his greatness and his sweetness
No more shall seem at strife,
And death has moulded into calm completeness
The statue of his life."

The mortal remains of Mr. Cooper were interred in Friends' Burial Ground, Tottenham, on the 3rd December, in the presence of a large assembly. A deputation from the Anti-Slavery Society

consisting of the President, several members of Committee and the Secretaries and officials attended the funeral.

Several feeling addresses were delivered, which tended to show how the long patient labour in the Master's vineyard which his Lord had commissioned and strengthened him to perform, enabled all who knew him gratefully to acknowledge that the world of humanity is the better for the life and work of JOSEPH COOPER.

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It is just ten years since the measure for the gradual abolition of Slavery in Brazil became law under the Ministry of Viscount Branco. It was predicted at the time by many people in Brazil that this measure, which provided that all children born after the 28th of September, 1871, should be free, would be "the ruin of the country," but, like many predictions of a like character, this one has been the reverse of the truth. The slave owners have done all they can to facilitate the execution of the law by keeping the children born since 1871 on their plantations, and by freeing a great many slaves. The immigration of Chinese and Europeans has been large enough to prevent any scarcity of labour, and though there are a few difficulties of detail in the application of the law, they do not affect its general bearing. When the

census was taken in 1872, there were 1,510,000 slaves in Brazil; but at the end of last year this total has been reduced by deaths and emancipation to 1,370,000. The average cost of emancipation is put at 78*l.* per head, and 250,000 children have been born of slave parents since the law came into force, of whom only a hundred have been left for the Government to provide for.—*Daily News*.

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN EQUATORIAL AFRICA.

In the new number of the Austrian *Monatsschrift* Dr. Emin tells us that to the north of Victoria Nyanza are three other lakes. One we knew of, discovered by Colonel Chaillé Long, and geographers will doubtless be anxious to obtain details of the other two. Emin Bey has accumulated a vast amount of most valuable information concerning the lake regions to the south of Egypt, and papers by him appear at intervals in German journals. It is to be hoped that he may soon find leisure to put the whole of his gleanings in an easily accessible shape. It is evident from his letter that THE SLAVE-TRADE IS AS FLOURISHING AS EVER IN THESE SOUTHERN PROVINCES, and he says explicitly that THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONVENTION IS A DEAD LETTER. He tells of a raid made by the scoundrel Mtesa, on whom so much money and sentimentality have been expended, into the country of Kaba Rega (well known to readers of Baker's travels), when multitudes of women and children were carried off as slaves.—*Egyptian Gazette*, November 5, 1881.

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